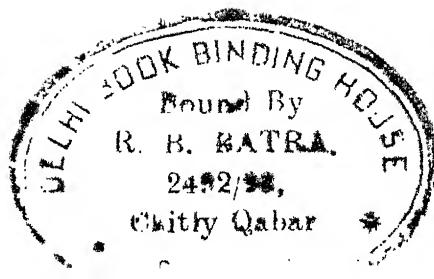


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Asst. Editor : RAMESH CHANDRA ROY, M. Sc., B. L.

CONTENTS.

Original Articles :—

Pages.

The Sun as a Folk-god :— By Nanimadhab Chaudhuri, M. A.	1-14
--	-----	-----	------

Hydro-Selenic Culture :—

By S. Srikantha Sastri, M. A.	15-32
-------------------------------	-----	-----	-------

Miscellaneous Contributions :—

On the "Adonis Gardens" of Lower Bengal :—

By Late Sarat Chandra Mitra, M. A., B. L.	...	33-45
---	-----	-------

Popkavati or the Girl who came to Life :—

Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha by Achyuta K. Mitra	...	46-54
--	-----	-------

Anthropological Notes and News. 55-73

Indian Ethnology in Current Periodical

Literature	74-77
------------	------	-------

Anthropological & other Books for Review 78-79

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CONTENTS.

Original Articles :—

	Pages.
Abbots Bromley in a Mythological Light :— By Mrs. Dorothea Chaplin.	80-91
The Aboriginal Tribes of the Udaipur State (C. P.) :— By Manindra Bhushan Bhaduri, B. L.	92-126
Games, Sports, and Pastimes in Prehistoric India :— By T. R. Padmanabhachari, M. A.	127-146

Miscellaneous Contributions :—

Notes on the Origin of some Place-names in the Jalpaiguri District in Northern Bengal :— By (Late) Sarat Chandra Mitra, M. A., B. L.	147-150
A note on Ghost-lore from the Jalpaiguri District in Northern Bengal :— By (Late) Sarat Chandra Mitra, M. A., B. L.	151-153

Indian Ethnology in Current Periodical Literature :—

154-156

Obituary Notices :—

157-158

Notices of Books :—

159-195

Air Raid Precautions :—

195-197

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Editor: RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M. A., B. L.
CONTENTS.

Original Articles :—	Pages.
The Meaning of the Cowrie in Bastar :— By Verrier Elwin	198-207
The Prehistoric Culture of Bengal :— By H. C. Chakladar, M. A.	208-236
Miscellaneous Contributions :—	
A Note on the worship of the river Tista by the Nepalis of the Jalpaiguri District in Northern Bengal :— By (<i>Late</i>) Sarat Chandra Mitra, M. A., B. L. ...	237-242
Census of Assam Tribals :— By A. V. Thakkar.	243-247
Editorial Note	247
Indian Ethnology in Current Periodical Literature :—	
	248-249
Notices of Books :—	
	250-256
Air Raid Precautions :—	
	258-260

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I. THE SUN AS A FOLK-GOD.

By

NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI, M. A.

572.05
M.I.

Of the five solar deities in the R̄gveda, Sūrya, Savitar, Bhaga, Pūshān, and Vishṇu, with the exception of Savitar, all the others have

In early literature. some or other popular attributes given to them. Thus, Pūshān is the herdsman's god carrying a goad. (1) He drives cattle and other animals to pasture and protects them. (2) He is also a guardian of roads (3), the presiding deity of marriage (4), and is connected with agriculture. (5) Bhaga, less important than Pūshān, is the god of increase. (6) A popular aspect is given to Vishṇu as a promoter of conception and protector of embryos (7 & 8). Sūrya, under his own name, has a popular aspect as a curer of disease (9).

Pūshān maintains some of his popular features, particularly his connection with cattle, in the Sūtras (10) which also prescribe the worship of Sūrya for attainment of wealth and fame (11). In the Maha-

In later literature. bharat, Sūrya is prayed to as a giver of food. (12) In the 7th century after Christ, Sūrya is prayed to in a hymn to grant relief from white leprosy (13). Śāmba,

572.05

M.I.

son of Kṛṣṇa, is said to have been attacked by leprosy and was asked by his father to repair to the Maitreya forest and there to worship the sun. At Hatakeswar tirtha Śāmba worshipped Kuhar Dvāva (Sun) and got rid of his malady (14). According to another account, Śāmba worshipped the Sun following the advice of Narada and was cured of leprosy (15).

The tradition connecting Śāmba with the introduction of Sun-worship and importation of the Magha Brahmans from Sakadvip who were acquainted with a special form of the worship of the sun should be compared to the tradition of the prevalence of sun-worship among the Yadavas. It is said that King Satrajit of the Yadu family was a notable sun-worshipper and he got from Sūrya as a token of his affection the famous Samyantaka gem which was an antidote of drought and disease (16). The story of this sun-gem is well-known in the Puranas and it would appear that the sun-worship which was introduced by Kṛṣṇa's son was different from the traditional sun-worship in existence and probably of foreign origin. We refer to these legends because they show that the sun was regarded as a curer of disease and and remover of drought. The Puranas also recommend the observance of vows or Vratas in honour of the sun with such objects as obtaining cure from disease, attainment of wealth etc. (17). It is noteworthy that no restriction on account of caste is imposed on sun-worship (18).

We have seen that Pūshān the RgVedic solar

The Sun and the Cowherd god. deity is a herdsman's god. He is characteristically pictured as driving herds of cattle to luxuriant pastures

with a goad in hand. This picture vividly recalls the picture of a later divinity, the youthful Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa in the cow-settlements. Well-known scholars like Grierson, Kennedy, Hopkins to some extent, Bhandarkar and others have, following Weber, seen Christian influence in the rise of the cult of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa. According to Kennedy, Scythian nomads from Central Asia called Gujars brought with them a child god, a Christian legend and Christian festival (19). We need not try to disprove this theory.* What we should like to point out in this connection as relevant to our subject is that Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa appears to be the tribal hero of certain semi-civilised pastoral tribes, identified with the sun. There is Vedic tradition of such a deity in Pūshān and another early sun-god. Mitra has the same bucolic traits in the Avesta (20). It is certainly an interesting and significant fact that in ancient myths of pre-Christian origin it is generally the sun-god conceived of as a youthfull person that appears as the divine shepherd or cowherd. Thus Tammuz the ancient Sumero-Babylonian god who is regarded as a herdsman was a sun-god (21). Attis, the beloved of the Phrygian mother-goddess Cybele was a sun-god. Helios called Sol by the Romans and a solar deity was connected with flocks and cattle. Apollo, a sun-god, was a protector of flocks and cattle. The myth of Apollo tending the flocks of Admetus at Pherae in Thessaly is well-known. We believe that Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa is a folk form of the sun-god whose wide popularity secured for him identification with the epic

* It has been criticised by R. Chanda (*Indo-Aryan Races*, Part 1) and Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri (*Materials for the study of Early History of the Vaishnava Sect*, 1936).

Vasudeva-Kṛṣṇa and a high place in the Brahmanical pantheon as an incarnation of the mighty Vedic god Viṣṇu.

Thus we find that the popular or folk-worship of the sun in early literature as a concrete, personal divinity gives him the following attributes ;—he is the protector of cattle, curer of maladies, giver of food, remover of drought; he is also connected with agriculture, marriage and increase.

Rai Bahadur Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen has published a few early songs of the sun-

**Medieval Bengali
songs to the
sun-god.** god from Backerganj, Bengal, which he places in the 10th century after

Christ (22). He is of the opinion

that the sun-god was the original hero of Bengali nursery songs and that many of those attributes which were subsequently given to Śiva and Kṛṣṇa, originally belonged to the god of Day. He further writes, "It also appears from the songs that at one time the sun-god was worshipped in every important village of Bengal where songs in his honour used to be sung by the rural people" (23). Much as we like to believe that like Śiva, Kṛṣṇa and several goddesses the sun too, was worshipped as a folk god in medieval Bengal there is little which definitely supports Dr. Sen's view. Considering that there is a large mass of mangala-Kavyas in Bengali in honour of Kṛṣṇa, Śiva, Maṇasā, Candi, Śitalā and Dharmā, if Surya Thakur (the Sun-god) had really attained as much popularity as is assumed, we might have expected a substantial literature instead of scraps of songs. Further, while the songs given by Dr. Sen are no doubt addressed to the sun-

god and they give a deeply interesting picture of medieval rural Bengal it should be noted that the hero, the story of whose marriage and journey home with his bride is given in the songs, might have been more appropriately Kṛṣṇa or Śiva than the sun-god. The hero is without any special characteristics of the sun-god. The fact is that there is very little evidence of the existence of the worship of a popular anthropomorphic sun-god in medieval Bengali literature.

We need not refer to the popularity of the Brahmanical sun-worship in Northern and

Sun-god sometimes identified with Dharma. Western India which spread also to Eastern India and may be said to

have reached its climax about tenth

century after Christ as indicated by the superb monument at Konarak and by the numerous finds of statues of Sūrya in Bengal both in Western India style and in the indigenous Bengal style initiated by the Pala School of Sculpture. But a curious instance of the transformation of sun-worship having important bearing on folk-worship of the sun at a later period should be mentioned. It appears that the Bengal Buddhists in the Middle ages sometimes identified Dharma with the sun and worshipped him as such. Ramai Pandit (circa 10th century) the author of the famous Buddhist work Sūnya Purana laid down forms and formulae of the worship of Dharma. According to him Sūrya is to be meditated on as follows :—

Mandalam vartulakaram sunyadeham mahabalam
Ekcakradharam devam tam suryam pranamyaham. (24)

That Sūrya drives in one-wheeled chariot is a Puranic conception but *mandalam*, *vartulākāram*, *sūṇyadeham* are epithets which belong to the Buddhistic god

Dharma who is often worshipped in a tortoise-shaped stone image. Such an image of Dharma is actually worshipped at the Sarvamangala temple at Burdwan town as Sūrya. It is reported that this worship has continued for the last 250 years. (25).

Among instances of folk-worship of the sun in the Brahmanical society in Bengal

**Folk-worship of
the sun in Brahma-
nical society in
Bengal.**

mention should be made first of the Itu pūja. This worship is also described as the Itu or Mitra pūja, but no tradition of Mitra-worship

has been preserved and there is no evidence that the Mitra-cult did at any time become a popular form of religion. On the other hand, both in the folk legends connected with worship of Itu and the Brahmanical form given to this folk worship the deity is definitely mentioned as Sūrya (26). This worship is performed only by women on Sundays for one month from the last day of the month of Kartik. Four small earthen pots are placed on a big earthen cup filled with earth in which seeds of paddy, barley, wheat and cereals are put. These seeds germinate and shoot up in the course of the month as a small quantity of water is poured every Sunday on the earth. The four earthen pots are symbolical of the four seasons of which the sun is the lord, the earthen cup filled with earth symbolises the earth ruled over by the sun. Devotees should forego hair oil, fish and meat on the day of worship. When the period of worship comes to an end *sādh* (rice boiled in milk and cakes) is given to Itu. *Sādh* is a feminine term meaning *śimantona-yana*, one of the twelve purificatory rites prescribed in

the Grhya Sūtras and its use in this connection is characteristic. After this a folk legend told by the female worshipper or a priest and listened to by the womenfolk of the house describes how this worship came to be adopted by some persons in an extremely miserable plight and how they came to attain prosperity and happiness through it. The object of Itu worship is the attainment of domestic happiness.

Important facts in connection with this worship are that it is confined to women, it requires no priest except on the last day of worship and that it is performed only on Sundays in the month of Agrahayana. The last fact is easily explained by the circumstance that Sunday is especially sacred to the sun while the two other facts would clearly indicate that the worship is of folk origin. The worship of Itu is really in the nature of a vrata and synchronises with time when the winter paddy crop is harvested and seeds of cereals are sown. The manner of worship in which seeds of grains and cereals are put in a cup filled with earth and watered for a month and small pots placed on it as symbols of four seasons ruled over by the sun, would indicate that the worship was, perhaps, in its origin a fertility rite based on the idea of mimetic magic. (27).

An instance of folk worship of the sun is reported from Sylhet, Assam. "On a Sunday, on the 7th day of the moon and on the last day of month worship of the sun is performed on the reflected image of the sun in the water in a miniature pond dug in the yard for the occasion". On Sundays in the month of Magh the worship is performed with great pomp. In the past devotees used to fast and stand in water from

sunrise to sunset with a lamp in hand. ‘‘Nowadays, the lamp is placed near the pond and the position of the wick-end is shifted as the sun changes its course. After sunset females walk round the pond and sing songs till it is dark when they break fast’’. (28) The paper from which these extracts have been taken does not give details about the devotees nor does it mention the purpose of such worship. It would appear, however, that two kinds of observances, one Puranik in origin and the other of folk origin should be distinguished. In Bankura and other parts of Western Bengal offerings are made to Dharam with the object of obtaining his blessings on the crop of the season. (29) *.

Women in Gujerat desiring male offspring and widowed girls that they may not be

In Gujerat. widowed in the next life worship the sun on the Sundays. ‘‘In worship-

ping the sun they dress in white or in red, fast during the day or eat only what is white, milk and rice’’. ‘‘On sundays barren women in the hope of becoming mothers get hold of some neighbour or friend’s infant child and lightly brand it on some part of the body with needle’’. (30).

On the sixth lunar day of Kuar or Kartik the sun is worshipped with great pomp by

Among Hinduised tribes and tribal peoples. several Hinduised tribes of Bihar and the United Province and the festival is called Chhath or Chhathi.

On the previous day the devotees fast and before sunrise go singing to the riverside. They strip and walk

* These are doubtful cases of Sun-worship.

into the water where they stand facing the east till the sun rises when they worship it and offer fruits and sweets. (31). Among the Mal Paharias (Rajmahal) the sun is worshipped on occasional sundays "by the head of the family who must prepare himself for the special rite by eating no salt on the previous day and fasting all Saturday. Before sunrise on Sunday morning a new earthen vessel, a new basket, some rice, oil, areca nuts and vermillion and a brass lota of water with mango branches stuck in it are laid out on a clean space of ground in front of the house. The worshipper shows these offerings to the rising sun and prays addressing him as "*Gossain*".—The rice is then given to a goat which is decapitated while eating it by a single blow from behind. (32). The Bhuiyas (Keonjhar and Bonai) worship the sun as *Boram*, whom they call Dharm Deota. He is invoked at the sowing season with the offering of a white cock. (33). The Bhumijas (Manbhum, Singbhum, West Bengal) revere the sun under the name of *Sing-Bonga* and *Dharam* "as the giver of harvests to men and the cause of all changes of seasons affecting their agricultural fortunes". (34). The Dhanuks (Bihar) worship the sun offering flowers, spices, molasses, money and clothes on Sundays. in Baisakh and Aghan. (35). The Kharias (Chota Nagpur) worship the sun as *Giring Dubo* and sacrifice to him in front of an anthill. (36)*. The Mals (Rajmahal) worship the sun as *Dharmer Gosain* represented by a rough-hewn post set up in front of each house

* Some of the Dravidian tribes swear by the ant hill—(Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Pp. 158, 223.) Ant hill was believed to possess curative properties. (*Atharvaveda* II, 3. 4, 5; VI. 100. 2.)

and offer fowls, goats, vermillion and oil. (37). The sun under the name of *Dharmi* or *Dharmesh* is the supreme god of the Oraons. (38). The Mundas worship the sun as *Singa Bonga* and sacrifice white goats and white cocks to him. (39). The sun worshipped as *Marang Buru* by the Santals has his allotted place in the Jahirthan or sacred grove. (40). *Chando* the sun-god is sometimes worshipped as *Sim Bonga*, the god who eats chickens, and once in four or five years a feast in his honour is held, (41). Among the Chamars those who have children fast and worship the sun as *Suraj Narayana* in the hope of offspring. (42). The Gonds worship the sun as *Suraj Deo* and in the hilly tracts he is worshipped under the name of *Rayatal*. (43). Among the Kandhs the supreme god is *Bura Penu* the god of light or *Bela Penu* the sungod. His wife is *Tari* who was the originator of all the ills that befel mankind. (44).

The sun was, perhaps, worshipped as a folk god in rural Bengal in the Middle

Resume. ages but the evidence to prove it is insufficient. It appears that the

sun-worship was identified to some extent with the Buddhistic Dharma-worship during the same period. Whether this identification was responsible in some way for the alleged popularity of the sun as a folk god in rural Bengal in the middle ages is not known, although there is little doubt that a large bulk of the rural population of Bengal at the time was Buddhist. In the Brahmanical society in Bengal at the present time folk worship is offered to the sun as *Itu* by womenfolk. Other instances of such worship show that desire for offspring is the principal object of wor-

ship. Investigation into cases of sun-worship among Hinduised tribes and tribal peoples reveal interesting facts. A number of tribes identify the sun with Dharma and offer him unorthodox sacrifices. If it is assumed that these tribes are remnants of the Buddhist population the source of this particular worship may be traced back to the Middle ages. The object of worship is mainly agricultural, in some cases it is offspring.

In the Vedic age the folk aspect of sun-worship is connected with cattle, agriculture, marriage and fertility and cure of disease. This departmentalisation

Conclusion.

of the Vedic sun-worship proves the great antiquity of the folk worship of the sun-god. In later literature, two aspects of the folk worship of the sun-god receives prominence, namely, curing of disease and connection with cattle. Regarding the latter aspect it is interesting to observe that the sun as a protector of cattle is a completely individualised, anthropomorphic deity in the RgVeda and this conception reappears under new environments embodied in Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa. The Sun appears to have been worshipped as a rural deity, probably connected with agriculture, in medieval Bengal. This particular form of folk worship of the Sun probably got an impetus as a result of identification of the Sun with the Buddhist god Dharma, whose worship widely prevails even now in several parts of Bengal among Hinduised tribes and tribal peoples. Instances of folk worship of the sun in the Brahmanical society show that the objects of such worship are attainment of domestic happiness and

securing of offspring. Instances of sun worship among Hinduised tribes and tribal peoples show that the worship is connected with agriculture and desire for offspring.

Thus it appears that certain features of folk worship of the sun have persisted from the early Vedic times down to the present day. These features are the sun's connection with agriculture and granting of offspring. Both these aspects are derived from the same source, namely, the conception of the sun as the giver of fertility. This aspect is not prominent in the later literature but in folk worship both in Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical societies it overshadows other aspects. The Vedic tradition of the sun as a cure god¹ merges in a later rich cult of the sun-god which probably got an impetus from the cult of the booted sun-god Mihir. The Vedic tradition of the sun-god as the favourite god of herdsmen and connected with cattle merged in the cult of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa the divine cow-herd who has parallels not in India but in other ancient lands. There appears to be no instance of the survival of the Vedic tradition of cow-herd god independently of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa.

It would thus appear that the sun has been worshipped as a folk god from prehistoric times and while his attributes as a folk-god have varied in different periods the main features of popular sun-worship have persisted both in civilised society and among semi-civilised or uncivilised tribes.

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 44. Dalton, *Op. Cit.* P. 297.
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II. HYDRO-SELENIC CULTURE.*

By

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I propose to apply the term "Hydro-Selenic" to that distinct culture-complex which is associated with the Moon and Water-cults primarily, as opposed to the Sun and Stone cults. The importance of what I call Hydro-Selenic culture can hardly be exaggerated in view of the fact that it is clearly *earlier* in point of time and is the *basis* on which the later (Helio-lithic) Sun and Stone culture is founded. From the evidence adduced below, it is quite manifest that the Moon-Water cult (with its logical and necessary adjuncts) pervaded and still pervades a vast region of our globe, almost unmodified by the later Sun-stone cult.

The Hydro-Selenic culture stands for a particular class of beliefs in sharp contrast to the so-called "Helio-lithic culture complex". According to Dr. Elliott Smith and Perry, this "Helio-lithic culture" spread over a wide region in about 1000 B. C. and its characteristics are:—

- 1 Megalithic monuments.
- 2 Sun connected with Serpent and knowledge of metals.
- 3 Ear-piercing.
- 4 Tattooing and circumcision.
- 5 Couvade and massage.
- 6 Stories of creation and the Deluge.

* Paper read at the VIII *Oriental Conference*, Mysore (*Anthropology Section.*)

- 7 Stories of Petrification and of incestuous origin.
- 8 Swastika, the Spindle whorl and the art of weaving.
- 9 Cranial deformation, mumification and embalming.
- 10 Use of couch-shells, trumpets, pearls etc.
- 11 Copper, Silver, and gold metal workings.
- 12 Tetrarchal form of Government.
- 13 The conception of the four Elements.
- 14 Cyclical form of Calendar.
- 15 Navigation, Backgammon and dicing etc.

It will be observed that Elliott Smith's theory attempts too much in certain directions and too little in others. It tries to include obviously conflicting elements under one category and moreover his theories about the origin of the *Swastika*, of the serpent cult, use of shells, fractional burial etc., are opposed to plain facts.

A clearer analysis reveals an earlier, wider and more demonstrable culture complex, which I have called Hydro-Selenic, standing for such ideas as :—

- 1 Worship of the Moon.
- 2 „ of the cow and the bull.
- 3 „ of the Great Mother.
- 4 The Lunar lineage of kings.
- 5 Dedication of Eunuchs and Virgins to deities
- 6 The knowledge of herbs, plants, and medicine,
- 7 Witch-craft and Hydropathy.
- 8 The Lunar and Luni-Solar calendar.
- 9 Water-worship—of Rivers and the Sea.
- 10 Navigation.
- 11 Nāgas and Moon.

- 12 Matriarchal Government.
- 13 Crocodile, deer, ibex as sacred animals.
- 14 Mono-theism.
- 15 Ideas of immortality connected with ambrosia and milk.
- 16 Phallic symbols.
- 17 Sacred Trees and pillars.
- 18 Burial of the Dead in extended position.
- 19 The pig tail etc. (in Susa I, Sumer, India, China etc.)

The *Chronological position of Hydro-Selenic Culture.*

In ancient Egypt, the goddess Nut as the cow of the Sky is depicted as covered with stars and giving birth to the Sun. Horus the Serpent-slayer destroyed the followers of Set "who is the lord of the Land of the South and their Spirits" (*Pyramid Text. Breasted* vol.-6). There is no trace of *sun-worship in the neolithic* or Badarian culture of Egypt. The Anu were the worshippers of Set. Buto was ruled by a snake goddess Uto or Utjoit. Later the snake lord of Buto united with the Hawk-lord of Hierokanopolis.

In Sumer, the pre-diluvian cultures are essentially connected with Moon and Water. The frieze at AlUbaid shows the sacred cowpens and milking of the cows for ceremonial purposes. The mother goddess is associated with the Moon—sometimes male and sometimes female. The earliest ethnic element was Semetic and the Sumerians were in a minority. Sumerian gods are associated with stars. The moon and water deities Ea, Nannar, Enlil Sin etc. (later identified with Shamash) are earlier than Shamash and Marduk, and the fire-god Gibil.

In India, there is ample evidence to show that the primitive elements in the Sáiva and Vaishṇava cults are really of lunar and Solar origin. That there was conflict between the two and later an attempt at synthesis was made will be proved by the opposition of Tāntrik to Vēdic, of the Dravidian to the Aryan of the Sun and the fire to the Moon and the Phallus, and also from the numerous legends about *Sōma*, *amṛta* etc.

In China, the moon's disk connected with the dragons (*De Visser—The Dragon in China and Japan*. 1913. p. 106) is supposed to control rain and fertilise the earth. In Polynesia and Melonesia two distinct culture strata are to be distinguished—an earlier of "Dual" people who buried their dead in a sitting position and introduced matrilineal institutions, circumcision, Totemism, the dugout canoe etc., and the later peoples of "Kava" and betel-leaf, burying their dead in extended position, patrilineal institutions, sanctity of skulls, secret societies etc. (Kean, *Man-Past and Present.*)

In America the recent excavations in Vancovvar in the Columbia region reveal the fact that a long-headed people akin to the Eskimo, were displaced by broad-heads and both differ from the present Amerindians in possessing "high cheeks, prominent eyes, shovel like protruding mouths and squat dished-in noses" (*Illustrated London News*, Dec. 29. 1934). A wave of migration is supposed to have started from North Asia and crossing the Behring straits moves southwards, carrying an earlier cult than the Sun-cult of the Incas.

Thus it is clear that old traditions in every part of the globe assert the priority of the Moon—Phallus—Serpent cult and that it was only after a period of conflict, that the Helio-lithic culture could assimilate the older elements.

Evidence of connection between the Moon and Water.

Moon as a male deity (Enzu, Sin or Nannar in Sumer and Sōma or Chandra-mā in India) is connected with water of life, milk and ambrosia. His female counter part (Ningal, Ninā, Irnini, Ishtar etc.) is connected with symbols of fertility and with stars, (especially with Venus).

In Anatolia Ma (later known as Kybele) is a mother-goddess standing on a lion and is the same as Mēn and the Iranian Mao. The moon-goddess had a horned cap in the form of a crescent—the horns resembling that of a bull or cow. It seems safe to generalise that where ever the moon was a male, the bull, and when a female a cow was associated with it, as emblems of fertility and virility. Ishtar with a cow's horns is well known and we know that the sacred kine played an important part in older Sumerian ritual. The milk of the universal mother, of the cow, and of several milk-yielding plants was identified with ambrosia or milk. It is significant that in Samskrit *payas* and *omrta* denote both liquids—water and milk. In the churning of the Ocean myth, we see that the moon is represented as springing out of the milky Ocean. In China, the moon symbol is associated with serpents in sympathetic magic to bring about rain-fall. In Egypt, the mother-cow in the Sky is supposed to suckle the dead Osiris (Breasted, *Development of*

Religion and thought in Ancient Egypt, p. 130). Rays of the moon caused Osiris to be born. The moon showered down life-giving water and milk. The Pyramid Texts make this quite clear. Milk and water are offered to the departed Souls to sustain them.

May the Nile give thee the essence of the Gods

May Hathor give thee beer

May Isis give thee milk, that thou mayest wash

thy feet upon the Stone of Silver and the seat of turquoise

(Florence Stele no. 2567).

Blocks of silver and malachite were provided for the dead as the essence of life-giving water (*Breasted*, p. 179).

In India, the Sōma cult is essentially lunar with its associated ideas of manes, fertility, phallus, milk, juicy plants, storms (of Rudra), priest-craft, Nāgas etc. Naturally therefore, waters (already associated with the moon) are deified as Mothers sustaining life. Numerous texts can be quoted from the Rig Vēda downwards.

Apa undantu jivase dirghayatvaya varchase

(Taitt Sam)

Oshadhe trayasva | etc.

Apova idagam Sarvam, sarvabhotanya ap | etc.

Sam no devir abhistaya - Apo bhavantu pitaye

Sam yor abhisravantu nah || (Sama Veda)

Apa eva sasarjadau || (Manu)

In the creation myths, the cosmic ocean on which Nārāyaṇa reclines, is the origin of all subsequent creation. The Rg. says (X—92.5) Rudra puts the waters in motion. Rudra as is well known, is another form of Sōma, not only the god of whirlwind and storm, but of virility, of herds and flocks (as Paśupati) and of the

departed spirits. Further, it is significant that Rudra is connected with *rajata* or silver (in Taitt.Bra) which is called *asruja*—sprung from the tears. Quick-silver is also born of Rudra and in Indian alchemy silver and quick-silver are supposed to be life-sustaining as in ancient Egypt. Therefore where as gold is associated with the sun and fire, silver is associated with Rudra and moon.

Sōma (Sa + umā) Rudra as the lord of *vanaspati* (herbs and plants) is also the supreme healer by water (urine ?) and medicinal herbs (Prathamō Daivyō bhishak—Jalāsha bhēshaja). The drop of the sōma-juice is called *indu* which later came to mean the moon. The Sōma confers immortality (Apāma Sōmam amṛtā abhūma) and hence milk yielding trees like the cactus, the plantain, the *arka* patra, the ficus, coconut palm etc., are held to be sacred. The Sōma juice was mixed with honey or milk according to the rites. Milk and honey were considered elixirs in Egypt, in Greece, in the Highlands of Scotland, and in Mexico the milk of the agave cactus was given to children on the occasion of the ear-boring ceremony. Honey brought the bee into importance and milk the cow in Egypt. Similarly I wish to point out that Bhramarāmba (bee-mother) is one manifestation of the Mother-goddess. The many breasted Diana (also represented as divinity of chastity and of the moon and hunting, like some forms of Durgā or Kālī) and Mayavel the Aztec goddess and the Egyptian Hathor, and the Indian Surabhi or Kāmadhenu show the intimate connection between the elixir of life which nourishes and cures all diseases and confers immortality. (Mackenzie, *Migration of Symbols.*)

In the Purāṇas, the myth of the Sun-bird (Garuda) stealing Sōma from the under-world of Serpents and demons probabaly represents the conflict between the older Lunar cult and the younger solar cult; tho' in the Taitt Sam we find the gerūm of this story in the ritual of conveying the Sōma plant on a vehicle. (Śyēnōbhūtvā parāpata yajamānasya nō gr̄hē dēvaih samskṛtam; Śyēnāyatvā Sōma bhṛtē; etc.). Similiarly in Sumerian legends, the story of Etana indicates the conflict between the Eagle and the Serpent, in the quest for precious herbs. The theiving storm-bird Zu was destroyed by Enmerker.

The Bull (as well as the cow) played a prominent part in this Hydro-selenic culture. The Bull's horns adorn the Phrygian caps. In the Phrygian mysteries "Bull is the father of the Serpent and the Serpent that of Bull" (Ramsay, "*Asianic elements in Greek civilisation*"). Among the Phrygians of Anatolia, it was a capital crime to slay an ox used to plow fields. The ceremony of *Bouphoria* consisted in driving oxen to an altar where grain was scattered and the first ox that attempted to eat, was slain. But the priests were held guilty of a heinous sin and fled. In their absence, the weapons were judged and condemned to be thrown in to the sea. The skin of the ox was stuffed with straw and yoked to a plow; and agricultural operations began. This has some resemblance to our Vṛshotsarga ceremony in which the calf or the bull is branded and left to roam free but for the sin of hurting the animal, there is a prescribed atonement. The Bulls associated with the serpent are the insignia of Rudra as emblems of virility, and fertility (which are

connected as already indicated with the moon) while Garuḍa (the sun-eagle) is the vehicle of Vishṇu. It has been asserted by certain scholars that since in the Indus valley the Bull has greater prominence, it was non-Vēdic. But I have shown elsewhere that the bull plays as important a part as the cow in Vēdic culture (*Q. J. M. S.* 1934). In my opinion the Sōma-Rudra element forms the oldest stratum in the Vēdas, and the Sūrya-Vishṇu element is later.

Moon and water are also intimately connected with the Manes of the ancestors. In the Upanishads, the Dakṣiṇāyana mārga of the Pitṛs is opposed to that of the gods. The spirits are supposed to reside in the moon sustaining themselves on the nectar in decreasing or increasing quantities according to the waning or waxing of the planet. The West and South are connected with the moon and Death, the north and the east with the gods and the Sun. The Pharaohs lie towards the west. In older cults, west was the region of the dead where the moon rose. West as the permanent realm of the dead is indicated in the period prior to the Pyramid Texts (*Breasted* p. 100). The South as the region of the dead is also prominent in other civilisations. South wind was the harbinger of death. The heads of pre-dynastic Egyptian males are pointed south, but the Pharaoh was interred with his feet towards south. In China, after a man died, his head was turned south. Similarly the Ainu are buried with feet to the north.

The Lunar calendar everywhere precedes the Solar. In Egypt the lunar reckoning was earlier than the Sothic cycle reckoning. It was first connected with

the moon and stars and water (floods of the Nile) and only later with the Sun. In India the stellar reckoning is the oldest and the importance of the full moon day for Darśa Pournamāsa sacrifices is well known. The Luni-solar and Solar calendars came to adopted very late. The Maya calendar is only a late adaptation of the Indian calendar in the 2nd or 3rd C. B. C. Stories of Incest and Mother right is another pointer of Hydro-selenic culture. In the *Taittariya Samhita*. Ambika is the sister of Rudra but later becomes his consort. Osiris married Isis his sister. In Sumer Tammuz is the lover of his mother (Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar* p. 25. 1914.) Matrilinear institutions in South India, Khasi, Malay, and other parts of Indonesia and Melanesia show that the original culture stratum was of Hydro-Selenic culture origin.

Phallic cult is not solar in origin. Phallic emblems along with images, dolmens and monoliths are found in Celebes and other islands of the Pacific. The Phallus is intimately associated with the Tree and Pillar. In India Sthānu, Skambha and Stambha stand for the symbols of Rudra. In Assyria, the Anu were called the Pillar folk. In the Minoan religion, the great mother is represented by the baetylic pillar, the sacred tree and the double-axe, the bull and the lion were as already indicated sacred to her. In Crete the horns of consecration are traceable to I Early Minoan period. Similiar objects are found in Spain, Galicia and Sardinia. Tauromorphic vases occur in Bulgaria, Spain etc. The sacred Trees standing for the mother-goddess came to be revered for their milk yielding properties. The ficus of various

species—India rubber tree, the Banyan, the Peepul, the bread fruit tree, “is the Tree of Life in various mythologies; the hazel, the cypress, sycamore, fig, the agave cactus, the vine, the oak with the mistletoe, the honey suckle, the ivy have been venerated as symbols of fertility and nourishment in Ireland, Scandinavia, Scotland, Egypt, Sumer, India Oceania, Mexico etc. It is not a mere accident that these “trees are connected with standing stones. In ancient Egypt (as in Crete) the pillar symbol of the goddess and the tree symbol were interchangeable and are represented as being adored by cult-animals. The Pyramid-form shrine, the mountain of dawn, plants, the baboon the cow with the sun between her horns, were combined in the complex symbolism of Egypt. As the tree and mountain (world-pillar) were both forms of the mother goddess, the tree might be shown giving birth to the sun” (Mackenzie, *Migration of Symbols* p. 179).

The fact that megaliths are erected only near sacred trees and stones and wells and rivers (as in Orkney, Ireland, Wales, Dambe region, Egypt, Assyria, India, Polynesia, Mexico etc.) clearly demonstrates the fact that this “stone” culture is older than the “Sun” cult and therefore the term “helio lithic” is misleading.

The Serpent cult is a part of this Hydro-selenic culture. The Serpent as already noted stands for lightning, storm, rain, the underworld, wisdom. It is popularly supposed in India that the two forks of the serpents tongue yield nectar and poison respectively. The Nāgas are intimately connected with Rudra the storm god. The serpent controlling rain and floods is

familiar to us in Egypt, India, China, Maya etc. (*Migration of symbols* p. 98ff.) Serpents gaurding nectar are destroyed by Garuda. Indra slays Vṛtra and released the waters. In Sumer Tammuz in one of his forms is a great serpent dragon. The Solar Hercules kills the Hydra. In Sumēr, the serpent was identified with the star Hydra and the mother goddess of irrigation and the sea. Niná or Ishara was identified with Scorpio and perhaps also with Serpens at an extremely early date, (*Langdon*). Another serpent of herven and earth is identified with the mother-goddess and consort of Enlil. She presided over birth and was also identified with Serpens in the region of Scorpio. The Chinese dragon literature connects the serpents with the moon, and thunderstorms, etc.

The use of couries and shells is intimately connected with water-worship. The spiral of the Courie and the whispering nature of the shell had peculiar significance connected with the ear. Those who die at Kāśī are supposed to die on the left side, leaving the right ear open. Karṇa had his origin form the ears of his mother and his ear-rings gave him immunity. Karṇa is the son of the Sun and it may be conceded that the ear-boring ceremony is of Solar significance, But it should also be noted that in Mexico a girl sacrificed for the Maize goddess wore golden ear rings and blood drawn form the ears of the people was offered to her. But the use of shells as amulets and birth-symbols by the Aztecs and Egyptians, and association of the shell with the milk of wisdom given by a Maiden-queen attired in green, silver and mother

of pearl (according a legend of Hebrides) is significant of its connection with Hydro-Selenic culture than with the Sun-cults.

Next, circumcision and couvade claimed by Elliot Smith to be distinctive of the Solar cult, are in reality connected with the veneration of the Great Mother. Circumseion is distinctly Semetic in origin and in modern practise and therefore connected with the moon-worship. It denotes another "birth" and is an imitation of the cutting of the new born child's umbilical cord. Couvade is similarly a symbol of the male's anxiety to please the Mother-goddess by trying to assume some of the responsibilities of mother-hood. It is a tacit acknowledgement of mother-right and matrilinear institutions.

The use of pearl is also connected with the moon and navigation. The Chinese call the moon's disk between two dragons, a "precious pearl". The sacred pearl was connected with the moon, being termed the "pearl of the bright moon". The spiral as a pearl symbol had intimate connection with *Yang*(life-giving). With other shells, the mother of pearl also possessed significance and in Hebrides, "the maiden queen of wisdom" is attired in green, silver and mother-of-pearl. (Mackenzie, *Migration of symbols*. p. 172). Rain is supposed to produce pearls as in India where *Swāti* rain-drops create pearls in the shells.

Elliot-Smith and Perry are convinced that navigation originated in Egypt because there is a close resemblance between the boats of the Indian ocean and Egypt and because it is only in Egypt that the earliest representation of boats is found. But these conten-

tions no longer hold good. Apart from the clear mention of sea going ships in Rgvēda, we have a picture of a ship with a mast on a pot sherd from Mohenjo-daro (Mackey—*Indus Civilisation*), which culture I claim to be Hydro-Selenic. The boat with a high prow is nothing but a crescent. In Egypt, the boat of Osiris (originally a stellar deity) is guided by Hathor—cow. The moon's connection with the terrestrial sea was well known. What is more natural than that the crescent moon, the boat, pearl-fishing, sanctity of shells, should be inter-related?

It is clear from the evidence summarised above, that the Hydro-Selenic culture (standing for mother worship, lunar cults and calendar, for fertility rites, agricultural and pastoral occupations, for the sanctity of the Phallus, trees, milk, pearls, sea-shells, silver etc.) is the foundation of all great civilisations. The later Solar cult is pantheistic in philosophy, aristocratic in political organisation, denying equality of men and still less of the sexes. In the Lunar-Mother cults, on the other hand, all created things, being born of one universal mother, are related as brothers and sisters under a single matriarchal form of Government. The Hydro-Selenic culture therefore attained a standard which the Solar cult tried to imitate and absorb but could never transcend (even in the days of Akhenaten.) All useful arts and crafts belong to this earlier culture, which (inspite of occasional obscurities common to all cultures) really differentiated man from the mere savage. The socalled Heliolithic culture, if it existed, would be but a feeble and degenerate imitation of this older culture,

**The place of origin and method of diffusion
of the Hydro-Selenic culture.**

It is natural to enquire as to the place of origin of this culture. All scholars are agreed that the Indonesian and Melanesian civilisations are derived from India. The coconut palm, the taro, bread fruit tree, the plantain, rice, are not indigenous to these islands but transplanted from India. The megalithic remains resemble those of south India. Jāva—Hawaii—Śavaka was a stepping stone. The Maoris are traced to the Gangetic valley. Even in far off Korea and near the Behring Straits, images similiar to those in Caroline Islands and Easter Islands (imitated from India) are found. Elliot-Smith traces Indian influence in Mexico. The zero point of Maya chronology is merely the Kali-yuga Era of 3102 B. C. (*Man*, 1918 p. 70)

The next question is whether India originated this culture or merely adapted it? Elliot Smith and Perry are convinced that the Mediterranean peoples occupying Egypt where the author of this “Helio-lithic” culture and other peoples merely imitated the superior achievements of the Egyptians. I have already shown that certain elements which Elliot Smith claims to be distinctive of the Sun cult are in fact those of the earlier and superior culture that I have named Hydro-Selenic. On what flimsy grounds Perry and E. Smith base their arguments, I now proceed briefly to demonstrate; says he ; “The earliest script in Egypt and Sumer was certainly prior to 3000 B. C. ; in India a script apparently arrived about 700 B. C. The Polynesians are said to have left India about 450 B. C. and to have arrived in the Pacific about the begining of

our era, which suffices roughly to fix the date of the script of the Carolines". "The people of the archaic civilisations in India were strangers: they evidently knew where to settle, for they chose places yielding gold, copper and so forth; and they were masters of the mining craft, able to work quartz reefs to a depth of 600 ft. They practised irrigation. No evidence what ever exists in India to show that either of these crafts originated there; they seem to have been introduced, together with pottery making." Perry generously admits that "this is negative evidence" but says "it is significant" (*Children of the Sun*, p. 426). His last argument is that men of palaeolithic age (in India) left their remains on quite different geological formations from those of archaic civilization, and that there is no trace of transition from one stage of culture to another. It is more reasonable to seek for such traces on a geological formation which possesses a raw material common to the food-gathering and food-producing stages of culture, such as the flint bearing formations which supplied the peoples of Egypt and western Europe with raw material for their industries (*The Children of the Sun*, p. 427).

These arguments are easily disposed of. The Indus valley discoveries show the use of a script in the fourth millennium B. C. and the Polynesian script of Easter Islands closely resembling it does not belong to the begining of Christian Era but to two thousand years before that date. The Indus culture, it is now acknowledged, is pre-Sumerian and therefore anterior to the first Dynasty of Egypt. (3400 B. C.) to Early Minoa I (3200 B. C.); Kish and Susa I. (3300 B.C.)

The discoveries at Ras Sharma, Khafaje etc. clearly show that Sumer feebly attempted to imitate Indus pottery, beads etc.; and further, the excavations at Amri, Nal and other sites reveal a pre-Harappan civilisation but continuous with the Indus culture. If Egypt invented the boat and sent its sailors and miners to exploit the gold regions of the globe, as Perry asserts, it may be asked when the Egyptians began to undertake foreign voyages. Breasted in his *History of Egypt* (p. 127) says "Sahure, who followed Userkaf (the founder of the Vth Dynasty) continued the development of Egypt as the earliest known naval power in history. He despatched a fleet against the Phoenician coast. This is the earliest surviving representation (at Abusir) of sea-going ships". Before this there might have been connection with the "gods Land" (Punt) probabaly over-land. The date of Sahure connot be carried to an earlier date than 2755 B.C. Further Elliot Smith's thesis is that it was in the VI Dynasty that Egyptian out-ward expansion began, since the Indian boats are exact imitations of the VI Dynasty boats. But it is well known that the V and VI Dynasty Kings had little power and were engaged in fighting with the nobles, until the Old Kingdom itself fell. Egyptian civilisation had degenerated and it is hardly to be expected that such a weak nation as it then was, could dominate the whole globe as Perry asserts.

Having thus shown the baselessness of the theory of Egyptian origin, it can be proved that the Hydro-Selenic culture (which was superior and anterior to the Sun-cults) originated in the Indus region. Elliot

Smith's claim that the Indus culture is of Mediterranean origin has little evidence (anthropological, archaeological, artistic or palaeographic *etc.*) to support it. Indeed everything points the other way—that Sumer and Egypt were borrowers, not lenders. The close resemblance of the Easter Island script to the Indus script (but little resembling Egyptian or Sumerian scripts) is conclusive proof of the spread of Indus culture—east as well as west.

The Indus culture shows all the characteristic marks of what I have termed "Hydro-Selenic" culture viz—Moon, mother-goddess, phallus, trees, bulls and cows, a deity resembling Siva, water-worship and ceremonial bathing, worship of animal deities *etc.* Elsewhere I have shown that the assumption of a non-Aryan origins of Indus culture is baseless until more positive evidence is forth-coming. All known facts of Indus civilisation, if dispassionately examined, agree with the state of civilisation of the late Vēdas, when ritual played a very important part.

In this short essay, I have put forward my reasons for questioning the validity of Smith and Perry's theory of Egyptian origin of all elements of culture that are worth while. Their sweeping generalisations ignore the fact that the earlier and superior culture of Moon and Water had prepared the way; but the succeeding solar cults were in many respects steps towards degeneracy and deterioration. I submit my thesis of a Hydro-selenic culture scholars for dispassionate examination.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I. ON THE “ADONIS GARDENS” OF LOWER BENGAL.

By

LATE SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M. A., B. L.

Part I.

*A comparative study of the Greek Cult of Adonis
and of the Indian Cult of the Sun-Deity.*

In the mythology of the ancient Greeks, Adonis is described as being a young man possessed of remarkable beauty, and as being the favourite of the goddess Aphrodite (or Venus). According to one ancient Greek myth, he was the son of the Syrian king named Theias by his daughter named Smyrna (or Myrrha) who had been inspired by Aphrodite with incestuous love. When Theias discovered the truth, he was about to slay his daughter. But the Gods took pity on Smyrna and metamorphosed her into a tree bearing the same name, that is to say, into the myrrh-tree.

After 10 months, the tree burst asunder; and out of it was produced Adonis. Being charmed by the baby's exquisite beauty, Aphrodite concealed the newborn infant in a box and made him over to Persephone for being nursed and molly-coddled by her.

When the child grew up and Aphrodite demanded him back from Persephone, the latter refused to give him back to the former. Thereupon an appeal was

made to Zeus, who decided that Adonis should spend a third of the year with Persephone, and a third with Aphrodite, the remaining four months of the year being at his own disposal.

According to the version given in Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, Adonis was killed by a boar; and this version was followed by Shakespeare.

Festivals called "the Adonia" were held every year in honour of Adonis at Byblus, and also, from the 5th century B.C. onwards, at different places in Greece. The main object of this festival was to express sorrow and grief for the death of Adonis, who was generally represented by an effigy which was subsequently thrown into the water.

In the form of the "Adonia" Festival which was celebrated at Athens, a noteworthy rite, which was performed therein, was the formation of what were known as "Adonis Gardens," which were nothing but pots sown with seeds. These seeds were forced to grow artificially. But the seedlings in the "Adonis Gardens" withered away soon.

The formation of these "Adonis Gardens" bears a strong resemblance to the under described rite which is performed in Lower Bengal on the occasion of the "Itu" Festival (ইতু পূজা).

The Itu-Puja (ইতু পূজা) is celebrated, so far as my knowledge goes, only in Lower Bengal and commences on the *samkranti* (সংক্রান্তি) or last day of the Bengali month of Karttik (কাত্তিক) [October—November] and is concluded on the *Samkranti* or last day of the Bengali month of Agrahayana (অগ্রহায়ণ) [November—December] of every year. The name "Itu" (ইতু) of the deity, who

is worshipped on this occasion, is a corruption of the word "*Mitu*" (মিতু), which is, again, a corruption of the Sanskrit word "*Mitra*" (মিত্র), this last word being the name of the Sun-god. This being so, the *Itu-Puja* is nothing but the worship of the Sun-god and is, most likely, performed to ensure the growth of bumper crops and to secure prosperity resulting from good harvests. This *Puja* (পূজা) or worship is performed on the last days of the Bengali months of Karttik and Agrahayan and on the intervening Sundays, that is to say, on 6 days in all.

The offerings presented to the Sun-deity on the occasion of this *Puja* or worship are some miniature clay jugs and cups which are coloured white and adorned with drawings, on the outside thereof, of lines and spots of a reddish brown colour. These are called "*Itur Bhand*" (ইতুর ভাণ্ড) or "the Sun-god's earthenware". But the most important offering is that of an earthen saucer or pan which is filled with mud from the bed of the river Ganges and sown with the "Five Cereals" (পঞ্চ শস্য), that is to say, with the five kinds of seeds, namely (1) barley, (2) pea, (3) mash-kalai pulse (মাষ কলাই) (*Phaseolus radiatus*), (4) mung pulse (সুন্দের ঢাল) (*Phaseolus auratus*) and (5) mustard. Sometimes corms of the edible arum (*Colocasia antiquorum*) are also planted, along with the afore-mentioned five kinds of seeds, in the Ganges-mud in the earthen pan or saucer. These miniature seed-plots or "Adonis-Gardens" are irrigated with water on the 6 days of worship mentioned above. The seeds, as also the corms of arum, sprout and grow up into small plants. According to one view, these clay jugs and cups (which are

filled with water) and the earthen pan or saucer containing the seedlings and the sprouting corms of arum, symbolise or represent the Sun-deity.

The rites, with which this worship of the Sun-deity is performed, are, very likely, the same as those performed on the occasions of worshipping the other deities of the higher Hindu Pantheon.

After the *Puja* has been finished on the last day of the month of *Agrahāyana*, the "saucer-gardens" with the plants growing in them, which I may appropriately describe as the "*Adonis-Gardens*" of Lower Bengal, are thrown away into a river or tank. The miniature clay jugs and cups, which are called "the Sun-god's earthen-ware," are distributed as playthings among the children of the household.

[In this connection, I must say that the ceremonies performed at the festival of Adonia, which is held in honour of the god Adonis, have been interpreted by competent European scholars to be a charm for promoting the growth of vegetation. While the throwing of the "*Adonis Gardens*" and of the images of the god Adonis into the water, has been interpreted by them to be another charm to ensure the falling of copious rain. (Mannhardt has pointed out other European parallels of these rites)].

The question now arises: Why are these "*Adonis-Gardens*" of Lower Bengal planted and presented as offerings to the Sun-god Mitra?

In reply to this question, I must say that "Sympathetic Magic" or "Imitative Magic" lies at the basis of the planting of these miniature seed-plots or "*Saucer-gardens*."

It is a well known scientific fact that sunshine is essentially necessary for the growth of plants and, for the matter of that, of all kinds of food-crops. In order that the Sun-god may be so far propitiated and coaxed as to promote the growth of vegetation and to grant bumper crops, a miniature garden is planted in which the action of the Sun's rays in the shape of promoting the growth of vegetation is imitated by forcing the seeds and corms to grow.

I am, therefore, of opinion that the similarity between the "*Adonis Gardens*" of the ancient Greeks, and the miniature "*saucer gardens*" of the Bengalis is complete.

It will not be out of place to state here that there is an analogous custom prevalent among the Bihari Hindus. The Brahmans of Bihar sow barley-seeds in earthenware pans on an auspicious day in the Hindi month of Bhādo (August—September) and water them. These pans are kept inside a room, and the seeds are forced to grow up into seedlings. On the Dashārā day (which corresponds to the *Bijayā Dasamī* day of the Durga Puja of the Bengalis) in the Hindi month of Kuār (September—October), these seedlings are uprooted by the Brahmans and presented with blessings to Hindu gentlemen who tie the same to their scalp-locks, while those presented to the Bihari ladies are tied by them to their chignons.

I do not know whether or not the Bihari Brahmans perform any rites on the occasion of planting and watering these "*saucer-gardens*" (Further researches are required on this point).

Part II.**An Official Account Of The Itu-Pūjā And The Legend Connected therewith.**

For purposes of comparison, I am giving, herein below, another account of the Itu Puja, which has been published in an official document. It is as follows :—

The Itu Pūjā begins on the last day of the month of Kārttik (October-November) and continues up to the last day of the following month (Agrahāyana). Mitra is the god of day, *i.e.*, the Sun. The word “Itu” is a degenerate form of the word “*Mitra*”. “*Mitra*” came to be commonly called “*Mitu*” and thence “*Itu*”. Small earthen pots are filled with water and placed in an earthen saucer over which the “*pancha sashya*” (or the five grains) is scattered. Females listen to the *vrata kathā* about the origin of the festival, abstain from taking fish with the meal and worship the sun in the hope of obtaining the realisation of their cherished wishes. On each Sunday of the month of Agrahāyana (November-December), these ceremonies are repeated till on the last day of the month, the pots are immersed in a river or tank after the usual *pūjā*. This pūjā is largely found in Bengal.*

The Legend. The *vrata kathā* or legend, which is recited and listened to by the females performing this worship, is as follows :—

* *Vide an Alphabetical List of the Feasts and Holidays of the Hindus and Muhamadans.* Calcutta : Superintendent, Government Printing, India. 1914. Page 39.

Once upon a time, there lived a very poor Brahman and his wife and their two little daughters named Umno and Jhumno, who maintained themselves by begging. One day, the Brahman expressed a desire to eat some *pithā* or pastry-cakes and procured, by begging, the ingredients for making the same. While the Brahman's wife fried the cakes in a pan, her husband kept a record of the number thereof by tying knots in a piece of string. During the night, the two little daughters ate one cake respectively. In the morning, the Brahman was served with the cakes and while he ate them one by one he untied a knot in the cord one by one. At last, by untying the knots, he found that two of the cakes were missing, which he concluded must have been eaten by his two daughters Umno and Jhumno. He, therefore, made up his mind to punish them and, on the pretence of escorting them to their paternal aunt's house, took them to a forest and abandoned them there. When night came, they wandered about in search of some refuge which they did not find. At last, they came to a huge banyan tree (*Ficus indica*) and told the tree their tale of distress and asked for a place of shelter within its big trunk. Thereupon the trunk of the banyan tree split open and, within this cavern, the two poor girls spent the night, safe from the attacks of the wild beasts. In the morning, the trunk of the banyan tree opened up ; and the two girls, emerging therefrom, left the forest and came to a tank on the margin of which some divine damsels were performing the *Itu Puja*. On their arrival there, the waters of the tank dried up and many other evil omens occurred. By a device taught by the divine damsels the tank again

became filled with water. According to the instructions of these divine damsels, Umno and Jhumno bathed in the tank performed the Itu pūjā, and, having obtained from the sun-deity the boons of wealth and prosperity, went to their paternal house. On their return home with the aforesaid boons, the poor Brahman and his wife became rich and began to live in affluent circumstances.

Thereafter one day, a Rājā and his minister, accompanied by a large number of retainers, soldiers, horses and elephants, were passing on a hunting expedition past the Brahman's house. The whole party, having become very thirsty, halted near the Brahman's house and called for a drink of water. On this, little Jhumno, who was much cleverer than her elder sister Umno, brought water in a little earthen jug (which had been dedicated to the god Itu) and gave it to the Rājā and his followers to drink. Seeing this small jugful of water, the Rājā became very angry. But Jhumno assured him that this water would be enough to quench his thirst and that of his followers. Accordingly the Raja and his men and beasts began to drink it. By the miraculous intervention of the god Itu, the more they drank, the more water came into that little jug.

Being very much pleased with the good offices done by Jhumno and her sister Umno, the Rājā and his minister expressed a desire to marry them. Accordingly, with the Brahman's permission, the Rājā married Umno, while the minister married Jhumno. Before starting for their husband's houses, Jhumno worshipped the deity Itu or the Sun-god

with due rites and ceremonies. But Umno did not worship his deityship. So when Jhumno arrived at her husband's house, prosperity and affluence began to reign there. While on Umno's arrival at the Raja's palace, all kinds of misfortunes and disasters began to happen in his family and in his kingdom.

Seeing these misfortunes and disasters, the Rājā came to the conclusion that his queen Umno was the source of all evil happenings and, therefore, ordered his executioner to take her to the place of execution and slay her. But taking pity on her, the executioner took her to Jhnmno's place and left her there. He, having slain a dog, showed its blood to the Raja, telling him that it was the Rani's blood. Umno lived with her sister, unknown to the Rājā and to the minister.

Jhumno enjoyed un-interrupted prosperity and happiness on account of her unflinching devotion to the deity Itu. At last, Umno was induced by her sister Jhumno to worship the same deity with due rites and ceremonies. This she did ; and, as the result thereof, prosperity and affluence again returned to the Raja and his kingdom. He, again, remembered his Rani who, he supposed, had been slain. But he was informed that she was living. Whereupon the Raja escorted Umno from Jhumno's place with great eclat. Having arrived at the place, Umno continued to worship the deity Itu with great regularity. Thereafter Umno and Jhumno lived with their husbands in un-interrupted happiness and prosperity and were ultimately translated to heaven,

Epilogue.

1 & 2. I went to gather sticks (in the jungle), and heard the legend of Itu.

3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 & 9. What benefit accrues from hearing the legend of Itu ? On hearing it, the poor gets wealth ; the sonless person has a son born to him ; the bachelor gets married ; the man, who has forgotten his family members, remembers them once again ; the blind has his eye-sight restored to him ; at the last moment of his or her life, he or she goes to heaven.

(Another version of the foregoing legend has been given by me in my paper entitled: "*On the Cults of the Sun-god in mediaeval Eastern Bengal*" which has been published in *The Journal of the Department of Letters of the Calcutta University* Vol. XV, pages 149—200).

Remarks.

There are three interesting incidents in the foregoing legend about the origin of the *Itu Pūjā*, which call for a few remarks.

(1) The first incident is that in which the Brahman is described as taking a piece of string and tying knots thereupon for recording the number of *pithas* or cakes that were being fried by his wife. This practice of tying knots or strings or cords, for the purpose of keeping a record of numbers and dates, is prevalent among many primitive peoples and shows that the *foregoing legend originated in ancient times*. Among the Santals of the Santal Parganas, this practice is prevalent. Whenever a marriage or other ceremony takes place among them, and guests have to

be invited thereto, knotted cords containing as many knots as there are days remaining to the coming off of the event are sent to the latter for their intimation. The guest unties a knot daily as each day passes away until the last knot is reached, which shows that the day fixed for the event has arrived. On the occasion of taking a census among the Santals, knotted cords have been or are still used for recording the number of persons in each family.

Similarly, Bengali women-folk tie a knot in the corner of their *saris* to remind them of a particular thing or event which they are likely to forget.

With the afore-described knotted cords should be compared the "Quipus" of the ancient Peruvians. These "Quipus" were differently coloured cords suspended from a top-band. Knots were tied in these cords. These knotted cords were originally used for recording members. Subsequently when the knowledge of making and using them became advanced, these "Quipus" were made more complicated and were used for recording historical events, laws and edicts. Recent researches have shewn that they were used for recording a certain amount of astronomical information and were also probably used for magical purposes as were done among the Mayas of Mexico.

Similar knotted cords were also used among the Chinese, the Tibetans and other peoples.

(For further information about the Peruvian "Quipus"—see the *Encyclopoedia Britannica*, 14th edition).

(2) The second incident is that in which the two girls Umno and Jhumno are described as requesting the banyan tree to give them shelter in its trunk, during the night, whereupon the said tree split its trunk open, and the two girls found shelter for the night in the cavern thus opened to them. This is an instance of the folk-belief which represents trees as sometime doing benevolent acts. There is a parallel example in the folk-lore of South Bihar, which is to the following effect:—Once upon a time, an embankment in the kingdom of a high-caste Raja in South Bihar was breached by a flood; and it became urgently necessary to have it repaired during the night. Thereupon the Raja proclaimed that he would give his daughter in marriage to whomsoever would repair the breached embankment in the course of a single night. A low-caste man, assisted by a number of labourers, undertook to do this job, and began to work hard at the job. He finished the work before the dawning of the day and became entitled to claim the hand of the Raja's daughter in marriage. But the Raja would have been degraded by giving his daughter in marriage to this low-caste man. *In this predicament, a pipal tree (*Ficus religiosa*), which grew near the embankment in question, assumed the form of a cock and crowed three times, thereby intimating that the day had already dawned; and that the master-workman had not been able to put his finishing touches to the repair work even by that time. Seeing this and fearing that the Raja would punish them severely for having failed to finish the work within the prescribed time, they fled away. Thus he was saved from*

the predicament of giving his daughter in marriage to a low-caste man. Here we find that the *pipal* tree played the part of a benefactor.

(3) The third incident is that wherein we find that the Brahman's younger daughter Jhumno supplied the thirsty Raja and his whole party with a very small jugful of water which, though hardly sufficient to quench the thirst of a single man, yet miraculously sufficed to satisfy the thirst of the whole party. This incident has an analogue in the ancient Greek myth of Philemon and Baucis. When the gods Jupiter and Mercury paid a visit to the old couple Philemon and Baucis for testing their hospitableness, the latter served their divine guests with a small quantity of milk, some thin and watery honey and a few shrivelled grapes. But the poor host and hostess were astonished to find that, as soon as the guest drank out the jugful of milk the jug became filled with milk to the brim again, that the honey had become thicker and yellower than before, and that the few shrivelled grapes had become changed into a large bunch of plump and luscious grapes.

In the legend of Itu, the small jugful of water became inexhaustible by the grace of the sun-deity; while, in the Greek myth, the milk became inexhaustible, the honey became thicker and sweeter, and the grapes became plump and luscious by the beneficent influence of Jupiter and Mercury.

II. PONKAVATI OR THE GIRL WHO CAME TO LIFE.

(Communicated by DR. B. S. GUHA.)

By

ACHYUTA K. MITRA.

[*Indian Museum, Calcutta*].

The tale of Ponkavati, which it is proposed to relate in this paper, occurs in a collection of Bengali folk-tales published by Mr. Jnanendra S. Gupta, twenty-eight years ago.¹ The preface, which catalogues the sources of the tales, shows that it is one of the five narrated to Mr. Gupta, by a sister of his, the home district of the lady being not mentioned. I have rendered a free English translation of the story, which I give below.

"Once upon a time, there was a merchant who had seven sons and a daughter born to him. The latter was his youngest child and was called Ponkavati. When the children had all been married and settled in life, the merchant died, and so did his wife. The seven brothers were very fond of their only sister Ponkavati, but she was disliked by six of her sister-in-law. Only the youngest of them, who was of same age as Ponka, was kindly disposed to her.

The old merchant having died, the time came for her brothers to leave on a trading voyage for foreign ports. Before they set sail, they ordered their wives to take all possible care of their beloved sister, and also enjoined them not to send her to her father-in-law's place before their return home.

¹ *Ibid-Upakatha-Calcutta* (City Book Society). B. E. 1312. pp. 135-139.

But no sooner had the brothers left, the six jealous sisters-in-law began to maltreat her in various ways. So it went on till one day, when her father-in-law sent a palanquin to take her away to his place. As ordered by their husbands, the sisters-in-law at first refused to send her before her brothers were back. But the man who had been sent to fetch Ponkavati pleaded hard, saying that they wanted her to attend a marriage to be celebrated at her father-in-law's place, and obtained their consent on promising to send her back three or four days after the festivities were over. Preparations were accordingly set on foot for sending her away as requested.

Now, Ponkavati knew that her eldest brother's wife happened to own a splendid *kâchuli*, a short jacket worn by Indian women. "Sister-in-law," begged she, "Do lend me your *kâchuli*. I would like to put it on just once at my father-in-law's house." "All right!" agreed the sister-in-law, "You may take it with you. But be very careful. If by any chance I find it stained, I will grind you to dust in the rice-mill (Dhenki), pass you through the sieve and throw you on the manure-heap." "Oh no!", said Ponka, "it won't be soiled at all. If it is soiled, you may do as you say."

So the girl dressed herself in the "*kâchuli*" and was taken to her father-in-law's place. Arrived there, she undressed and put it by in a secure place. On the day the marriage ceremony was to come off, no sooner had she put it on, than one of the sisters of her husband stained it slightly with the auspicious turmeric paste, by way of a jest. This frightened her so much that she went into tears, saying "Ah me! This

kâchuli belongs to the wife of my eldest brother. When she discovers this turmeric stain, she will grind me in the rice-mill, pass me through the sieve, and throw my remains on the manure heap !” This sent everybody into laughter. “Dont weep”, said they, “and dont be alarmed. Your sister-in-law must have scared you with an idle threat, silly girl that you are ! How could any one carry out such a preposterous threat ?”

When the marriage festivities were over, Ponkavati returned to her father’s house. As she descended from the palanquin, her eldest sister-in-law came out to meet her and asked for her *kâchuli*. With her mind full of apprehensions, Ponka gave it back to her. On seeing the turmeric stain, the sister-in-law flew into a rage and exclaimed, “Wretched thing that you are ! Since you have spoiled the *kâchuli* which I treasured so much, I wont let you off lightly. This very minute will I crush you in the rice-mill, pass you through the sieve and consign your remains to the manure-heap !” Then the six jealous sisters-in-law caught hold of the poor girl and executed their cruel threat in no time. The youngest sister-in-law attempted to remonstrate with them, saying “Dont do it, my sisters ! For what would our husbands say, when they learn of this ?” “Cant you keep a still tongue in your head ?” replied the eldest. “Dont you begin to play the mistress here !” At this the youngest sister-in-law was silenced and said no more. But the manure-heap where they had thrown the remains of Ponkavati was ere long a jungle of *Ponka* herbs.

One day however the maternal aunt of the poor girl happened to come on a visit to them. On entering the house, she asked for her niece, saying that it was solely to see her that she had come, for had she not been the best beloved child of her sister's ? But the eldest sister-in-law told her that she was away at her husband's place. So Ponka's aunt went hither and thither to have a look at the place, till she came to the manure-heap where she found the young and tender Ponkâ herbs. "Oh my eldest daughter-in-law !" said the aunt, "These herbs look very nice indeed ! And you dont seem to have eaten them at all ! Bah ! I will cook some for you to-day." With these words on her lips, she stepped forward to gather some of the herbs, when someone was heard to say :—

"Pluck me not ! Pluck me not ! Auntie mine !
For Ponkavati am I !
This is what I have become,
By wearing the *Kâchuli* of my sister-in-law !".

Ponka's aunt was naturally astounded to hear the herbs speak in this fashion and talked to her daughters-in-law about it. "Whoever heard of anyone eating herbs from a manure heap !" exclaimed the eldest, none too pleased at the turn things were taking. "Isn't it highly improper ?" So saying, she took the basket containing the *Ponkâ* herbs, and threw it into the river. But as soon as the herbs got into the water, they were transformed into a lotus flower, which kept floating on the stream.

Meanwhile the brothers of Ponkavati had been returning home with their boats laden with many presents for their sister, which they had got together

in various lands. As the boats neared the landing *ghât*, the eldest brother saw the beautiful lotus flower floating in the stream, of a size so big that he had never seen before. So he called to his youngest brother, saying, "Go brother ! and pluck me yon lotus flower ! Our sister will be delighted to have it." Accordingly the latter rowed his boat to it. But scarcely had he stretched his hand for plucking it out, than the lotus sang out in this strain :—

"Pluck me not ! Pluck me not ! Brother mine !
 For Ponkavati am I !
 This is what I have become,
 By wearing the *kachuli* of my eldest sister-in-law !"

Astonished to hear the lotus flower sing in this manner, he summoned his brothers to the spot. One by one the latter tried to pluck the lotus from its stem, but it spoke to each to the same effect. Then they surrounded it with their seven boats, when it was secured by the eldest brother. But no sooner had this been done, than much to their surprise, out came Ponkavati from inside the flower and boarded one of the boats. Questioned by the eldest brother, she narrated all that had befallen her lot, since her brothers had left on their trading voyage.

At this the brothers hid Ponkavati in another house and went home. Arrived there, they asked for their sister and were told by their wives that she had gone to her father-in-law's place, as the latter could no longer be put off. A man was accordingly sent there and returned with the intelligence that Ponka was not there and that she had indeed been taken there on the occasion of a marriage ceremony, but had

returned after a stay of three or four days. Interrogated as to the fate of Ponka, her youngest sister-in-law made a clean breast of the foul play she had been the victim of. The account of Ponka having been corroborated by her, the brothers were all wroth with their wives, for they were now convinced that it was the six cruel sisters-in-law, who had done her to death. They punished them accordingly by consigning them into six pits which they had dug into the earth, with a layer of thorns at the bottom, and another above. The six brothers who were thus widowed married again, and the new wives were as kindly disposed to Ponka as her youngest sister-in-law. "Here my story endeth etc."

Such is the story of Ponkavati, illustrating a primitive belief in transmigration of soul and re-incarnation. The girl is killed by her sisters-in-law, and from her remains consigned into the manure heap, she re-incarnates as *Ponkā* herbs. She reveals herself to her aunt, speaking in a human voice. She is identified with the herbs that are gathered in the basket by her aunt and subsequently thrown into the river. Then the herbs are transformed into a lotus flower of surpassing beauty, which is still identified with her and can sing like a human being. Ultimately, when the flower is plucked by her brother, she emerges from it and resumes her old existence.

The story of Ponkavati has its parallel in the Egyptian legend of Bata, written down in the reign of Rameses II, about 1300 B. C.² The external soul

² Frazer, Sir J. G.—*The Golden Bough (Abridged Edition)* London 1923, p. 674.

Mackenzie, D. A.—*Egyptian Myth and Legend.* London pp. 45—47.

of this man had been concealed in the highest blossom of accacia, and the secret was divulged by his wife, who was seduced by the King of Egypt. The latter caused the blossom to be severed from the tree, so that its petals were scattered and Bata dropped down dead. His soul was subsequently recovered in a seed, which was dropped in vessel filled with water, and he did not fully revive till he had drunk off the same. He then became the sacred Bull and revealed himself to his faithless wife, who caused him to be slain. But the spirit and the soul of Bata were in two drops of blood, cast towards the gate of the royal palace and subsequently reincarnated as two Persea trees. One day the seduced wife chanced to stand under one of the trees, which at once spoke to her as Bata. Then she arranged to cut down the tree so that two fair seats might be made out of them. As she stood by watching the workmen, she happened to swallow a minute chip of wood which entered her mouth. By this means Bata was reborn as the son of his wife. When he succeeded the old king to the throne, he finally revealed himself to her, trying her before the great men of his court.

An analysis of the two folk-tales point to a kinship of ideas regarding transmigration of soul. Bata reincarnates first as the sacred Bull and then as the two Persea trees and as the son of his wife, his existence being continued through two drops of blood which gave origin to the Persea trees and through the chip of wood, swallowed by his wife. Similarly we find that Ponkavati is identified with the Ponka herbs that sprang up from the manure-heap, where

her remains had been cast, and with the lotus flower into which the herbs are transformed, and which is the agent of her reincarnation. Here again, the thread of life is unbroken. It is interesting to note that such direct reincarnation is not contemplated by old Sanskrit texts such as the Mundaka (I. 2; 10) and the Kausitaki (I. 2) Upanishads. According to the latter—"Those who go from this world, all go to the Moon.....The Moon is the gate of the heavenly worlds. Him who refuses to abide there, the Moon sends above. Him who refuses not thus, the Moon sends back to this world in the form of rains. Here he is reborn as worm, as fly, as bird, as tiger, as lion, as fish, as snake, or as man according to his deeds and knowledge."

No less important differences are presented by both the stories. Thus in the first section of the Egyptian tale, the soul of Bata is conceived of as an external one, which is lodged for safety in the highest blossom of the accacia, while Bata himself maintains a separate existence, living with his wife. He dies when the petals of the blossom are scattered, and revives when his soul is recovered in a seed. But Ponkavati is not troubled with an external soul.

Bata's wife appears to have been impregnated by eating the chip of wood which lodged his soul, and in his final incarnation he is the child of his wife. Ponkavati, on the other hand, is miraculously reborn through the lotus, and is not for the second time "of woman born." Miraculous births through the lotus are not unusual in Hindu Mythology, the great god Brahma having been produced on a lotus emerging from the

navel of Vishnu. According to the Asanka Jataka (Fausbol—380) "a being of perfect merit fell from the heaven of the Thirty Three, and was conceived as a girl inside a lotus in a pool; and when the other lotuses grew old and fell, that one grew great and stood."

ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES AND NEWS.

The twenty-eighth annual meeting of the Indian Science Congress held its sittings at Benares from the 2nd to the 8th of January last. A number of interesting papers were read in the section of Anthropology, some of which are summarised below :—

President :—TARAK CHANDRA DAS, M. A.

Somatology.

1. Anthropometry and blood types of the Bangaja Kayasthas of Bengal :—By R. N. BASU, Calcutta.

Bangaja Kayasthas of Bengal—their origin as depicted in the Vedas and the Puranas—the migration theories of the ethnologists are discussed—physical measurements of 100 adult subjects. Stature, Sitting height vertex, Relative sitting height, Head length, Head breadth, Cephalic index, Bizygomatic breadth, Facial height, Facial index, Cephalo-facial index, Nasal height, Nasal breadth and Nasal index, and the indices calculated therefrom. Observations on the following characters : Hair, Eye, Skin-colour. Determination of the Blood Groups and their distribution and comparison with other available data. Relation of Blood Types to Anthropometric data. Comparison with other racial types.

2. Anthropometric measurements of S'ukla-Yajurvediya Madhyandina Brahmins :—By (MRS.) IRAWATI KARVE, Poona.

(The Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute has undertaken the project of preparing a

a detailed anthropogeography for Maharashtra. For this purpose a survey of the sub-castes of Maharashtra is undertaken. This is the first survey in the above project. A student of the Institution is studying the community from the historical and ethnological point of view. In the meanwhile I undertook an anthropometrical investigation of the sub-caste.)

The Śukla-Yajurvediya Brahmins form the majority of Brahmins in the Marāṭhī-speaking population. They are divided into strictly endogamous groups according to Śākhās. Of these the most numerous is the Mādhyandina Śākhā. The census reports have always grouped together all Deśastha Brahmins. Whatever the anthropological justification for this procedure, it is entirely wrong from the point of view of social customs.

I have measured in all about three hundred women (between twenty and forty-five) and about six hundred men (between twenty-five and fifty-five) belonging to this community. The samples were taken from nine different towns. A numerical presentation of the data will be made later as the calculations are being made now. I am giving below a brief summary of some of the salient physical peculiarities of the group. The people are of middle height possessing uniformly dark, sleek hair and brown eyes. Bluish green eyes and curly hair are extremely rare. They are broad-headed with very high forehead and the back of the head is flattened. The cheek-bones are sometimes prominent. I met with three or four rare cases of narrow eyes with the Mongolian fold. This latter peculiarity was pronounced in the case of children and

very moderate in adults. The eyes are generally big and straight. The nose is also generally prominent and straight. In some cases the nose bridge was so high, that the usual slight depression between forehead and nose was almost absent. The skin colour varied from the lightest of browns to very dark.

3. *A further study of the somatometric and somatoscopic characters of the Santals* :—By T. C. ROY-CHAUDHURY, Calcutta.

The present paper is based on the same fifteen absolute measurements and five indices as in my previous paper on the same tribe. This paper corroborates what I tentatively suggested elsewhere that the Santals are constituted of a short statured, dolichcephalic and mesorrhine group (the Dravidian) to which might be added a third element with broad head and leptorrhine nose.

Anthro-Biology.

4. *Race admixture on the Malabar Coast* :—By A. AIYAPPAN, Madras.

The history of the small islands of half-breed populations such as the Portuguese-Indians at Tangasseri and Anjengo in Travancore is described in this paper. The reaction of the parent communities to biological admixture is studied in its sociological setting.

5. *On the finger and palmar print of the Indian juvenile criminals* :—By P. C. BISWAS, Calcutta.

This is a study of one hundred palm and finger prints of 50 delinquent boys of the Reformatory and Industrial School at Alipur in Calcutta.

As a result of my investigation of the finger and palmar prints of the above delinquent boys, it appears that there is no marked difference in the finger pattern of these delinquents and the normal individual.

It is very interesting that in the appearance of pattern loop on the Hypothenar, Thenar and the three Interdigital areas a considerable difference exists on the palm of the criminal and normal Indians. The pattern loop occurs in considerably lower number in the above areas of the criminal hand than that of the normal individual. In the Main-line and Axial-triradius there are no such differences.

Ethnic Psychology.

6. *Certain recent studies in racial intelligence:*—By N. N. SEN-GUPTA, Lucknow.

The paper gives a brief account of the attempts that have been made in recent years to estimate the level of intelligence of race-groups on the basis of intelligence tests and scholastic data. An attempt is made to analyse the facts and to bring out their psychological implications in regard to racial intelligence. The paper concludes that it is not possible to define I. Q.-values of specific racial groups.

7. *Earlier and recent studies in racial character:*—By N. N. SEN-GUPTA, Lucknow.

The paper is a study of several psychological approaches to the study of racial character from the middle and end of the nineteenth century to recent times. It attempts to estimate the value of these surveys of racial character in the light of the present

outlook of psychology on this question. It concludes that there is no sound psychological foundation for racial characterology.

*Prehistoric and Protohistoric Archaeology.**8. Prehistoric culture in and about Bengal:—By H. C. CHAKLADAR, Calcutta.*

Besides sporadic find of artifacts in the plains and highlands of Bengal, a site abundantly rich in Palaeolithic implements has been discovered hardly six miles beyond the Bengal frontier, showing a crowded settlement of the men of the Old Stone Age ; the numerous tools include both flake and core implements like those of the Soan Valley and the South respectively. No skeletal remains of Man have been found anywhere. Protomodern or modern Man derived from the line Pithecanthropus-Wadjak-Solo, or from the Neanderthal-Cromagnon transition types of Tabun and Skuhl, as described by Keith, might have come to India from two directions.

Neolithic artifacts abound in the same region and some have been found in the plains. Shouldered celts found in Assam to the north-east, and Dumka-Singhbhum-Mayurbhanj in the south-west, of Bengal, show the passage through that country of Neolithic culture from Oceania-Malay-Burmah to Chota Nagpur, while pigmy flakes and beads show contact with the Indus Valley (Sukkur Rohri, etc.) where the finest tools of Neolithic India have been discovered. Other items of the cluster of culture complexes marking the same period, such as pottery, agriculture, metallurgy, etc., might also have spread from the latter centre of

diffusion. It is also not improbable that the outward expansion of Indic culture towards the Far Orient—Further India and the Pacific—as noted by Hutton (*Assam Origins in relation to Oceania*) and Handy (*Indian Cultural Influence in Oceania*) had commenced from Eastern India in the same Prehistoric Age.

9. The age of the boulder-conglomerate beds at Kuliana, Mayurbhanj:—By NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE, Calcutta,

The geology of Kuliana is first described. Primary laterite is overlain here by secondary laterite containing numerous tools of palaeolithic type. In one locality within Kuliana, a boulder-conglomerate occurs in place of the primary laterite.

The course of the river Burhabalanga and its tributaries is then described in relation to the strike and the dip of the country rock; and it is suggested that the boulder bed is the work, not of the Burhabalanga itself, but of a tributary stream flowing into it from the neighbourhood of Tikaitpur.

Two more out-crops of similar compact ferruginous conglomerate are then referred to. One of them is perhaps post-miocene as it overlies a calcareous clay of Miocene age. The question as to whether these are of the same age as the boulder-conglomerate of Upper Siwalik times, is discussed, and the opinion is expressed that the evidence in hand is too meagre for such correlation. Finally, the question of correlation by means of the stone implements themselves is discussed, and the conclusion is arrived at that, in the

present state of our knowledge of the exact date of different types of tools, such an attempt would be premature.

10. Anthropomorphosis in the Indus Velly culture:—
By C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, Madras.

The paper touches upon the wide prevalence of anthropomorphic figures in ancient times in Europe, Egypt, Mesopotamia and India (Indus Velly) and draws attention to such figures occurring in the Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa relics. The association of some of these figures with the beginnings of Siva cult in India and the possible connection of these with incidents in Siva's life are suggested. That an important seal found at Mohenjo-Daro is very likely a composite representation of Patañjali and Vyāghra-dāda, the devotees of Siva, is inferred in the paper.

11. Anthropological significance of the Āsā-danda:—
By G. S. DUTT, Calcutta.

A careful comparison of the relics unearthed from the Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa and other ancient India Valley sites, e.g. Jhukar, Amri, Chanhudaro, etc., with the present-day Bengali folk arts and crafts reveal the fact that certain elements of the Indus Valley civilization of the Chalcolithic age appear to have continued in an uninterrupted succession right down to the present day in the Bengali region in the form of beliefs, practices, and traditional cult forms and art forms. One of these continuous traditional forms, and the most interesting and important of all, is the Āsā-danda or the metal disc standard used in Bengal nowadays as the standard of authority of the

Gazi—the Tigers' God, as well as an architectural emblem on the pinnacles of various Siva and Vishnu temples. The striking resemblance of the unique form of this *Āśā-danda* with the standard of authority associated with the Urus Bull in the seals discovered among the relics of Indus Valley civilization at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa as well as the manner of their respective use strongly suggest that it is same cult form which has been handed down in an uninterrupted succession from the pre-Aryan culture of Indus Valley civilization to the folk culture of present-day Bengal and that the origin of the Vishnu-cult can be traced to the Chalcolithic age of India.

12. A preliminary note on neolithic typology of Chakradharpore:—By D. SEN, Calcutta.

What seems to be a small but surprisingly rich neolithic factory site has been discovered in the Sanjai valley near Chakradharpore in the district of Singhbhum. Hundreds of artefacts come from this small site which is to be shortly excavated. The geology of the site is now being studied and unless excavation is carried out, nothing can be said about any geological dating at the present stage of preliminary research.

Culturally, however, the industries seem to represent an early neolithic stage and typologically they offer interesting studies. The celt which is the common tool in the site shows a great variety of forms and features and represents nearly all the stages of its manufacture. The chipped celt is the most common. There also occur partially chipped and partially ground celts, partially chipped, partially polished celts, ground celts, partially ground and partially polished celts and

finally polished celts—the last, however, are few. The amount of preliminary chipping left, in examples of partially chipped-partially ground or partially polished celts varies a great deal. An examination of the series of celts may reveal a course of typological evolution. Besides celts, characteristic chisels of great beauty and fine craftsmanship occur. Ringstones and other artefacts also come from this site. From the variety of forms it may seem that the celt people were bound to the valley for a considerable time. How the chisels are genetically or otherwise related to the celt family is not yet known and the chisels themselves offer interesting typology.

Ethnography.

13. *The aboriginal tribes of Udaipur State:*—By M. B. BHADURI, Udaipur.

Udaipur is a state in the Eastern States Agency with its headquarters at Dharamjoygarh. The author, who is a state official, proposes in this paper to give an account of the aboriginal tribes living within the state. Fifteen such tribes live within the state—Kawar, Rorwa, Kol, Kharia, Gond, Birhor, Bhuinhar, Majhwar, Dhanwar, Chero, Nagesia, Saonta, Sawara, Oraon and Pando which may be distributed amongst three linguistic groups—Indo-Aryan, Munda (or Austro-Asiatic) and Dravidian. The author discusses the geographical distribution of these tribes, and various other connected problems. He also discusses the question of the migration of these tribes in recent times within the Chattisgarh States.

14. The social customs and ceremonies of the Chik Baraiks:—By ARUNCHANDRA GHOSH, Calcutta.

The writer in this paper has dealt with the social customs and ceremonies of the Chik Baraiks, a low weaving caste living in the north and north-western parts of Ranchi district.

He has investigated and personally observed the birth, marriage and death ceremonies of the caste.

A detailed description about them is given. He has also described how a child is named after the day of birth and also how a sister gets the feminine form of the name of her brother. Further detailed description of the outcasting ceremony and about the panchayat has also been given.

15. The eternal triangle in some Marathi folk-songs:—By (Miss) BALUBAI SAPTARSHI and (Mrs.) IRAWATI KARVE' Poona.

A number of Marathi folk-songs bearing on the relations between a brother, his wife and the sister have been collected in the Ahmednagar District. The folk-songs are translated into English and discussed in short in some cases.

Material Culture and Economic Life.

16. Korku mundas:—By K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY, Calcutta.

The Korku tomb posts known as mundas, and the ceremonial of aheir erection, referred to as sedoli rites, have been briefly described by Russel and Hiralal in their work on tribes and castes of the Central Provinces. The Gazetteer of the Amracti District also

furnishes certain details. The writer of this paper paid a visit in 1938 to eight Korku villages in the Melghat forest. Detailed accounts of the rites of disposal of the dead and of the erection of the mundas were obtained in four villages, and also from an educated Korku in Chikalda. The sedoli rites are shown to be comparable to the final bone disposal rites of the Santals and Oraons. Twenty-seven memorial posts were observed. Their types and certain details of carvings are also noted.

17. *The Machis of Navsari* :—BY S. T. MOSES,
Baroda.

Introduction—Fishery Centres—Castes engaged in Fishing—The Kolis and early History—Evolution of new Subcastes and Castes—The ‘Divine Origin’ of fishermen: Bagawan’s annoyance with a fish while bathing in the Narbada and consequent creation of a fisherman from His body—Machis and their subdivisions: Koli Machis, Karda Machis, Dhimar or Dhebra Machis, Handia Machis and Girassia Machis. Handias were forced to catch fish for a Rishi who gave them protection when fleeing away from Parasurama. The Girassia Machis claim descent from a Mermaid. Kardas so called because law-abiding and paid all taxes (Kar) due—Occupations: Agriculture, Manuallabour, Carpentry, Poultry-keeping, Vegetable selling, Jardoshi work and cottage making besides fishing including fishmongering and sailing—Fishing gear: nets (stake, cast, drift and drag nets)—Special fishing arrangements for Mullets and Mudskippers and a device used on the Tapti to entice and collect fish

and prawns—Fishing Holidays—Fishing, etc., Ceremonies—Marriage Customs—Childbirth, naming ceremonies and names, etc.—Funeral Customs—Caste Assembly and Communal Administration—Religion, omens and exorcism—Habitations, sanitation and dress—Dietary and drink—Appearance—Measurements : Heights and Indices, Cranial and Nasal, of 30 subjects.

18. Division of labour in economic organization among the Rajbanshis or the Parois—a class of fishermen of Jessore, Bengal :—By M. N. BASU, Calcutta.

The Rajbanshis or the Parois—a class of fishermen—live in a village named Sitarampur, in the sub-division of Narail in the district of Jassore, Bengal. The author of this paper had the privilege of carrying on field work in this village in May last. In this paper the author discusses the geographical position of the village, and records the results of census operations of the village carried out by him and gives the division of labour in their economic organization. These he had actually observed living with them in the same village.

19. The economic life of the Birjhia Asurs :—By S. B. DASGUPTA, Calcutta.

The Birjhia Asurs are a section of the people generally known as Asurs living on the borders of Chota Nagpur and Palamau districts and Surguja State. They had been predominantly a ‘Beonrā’ cultivating people, the same type of agriculture that is known as ‘Jhuming’ in Assam area but owing to extensive reservation of forest by the Government in the areas where they live, the Birjhias have been compel-

led to give up this type of cultivation. A section of this tribe also melts iron. Iron-smelting requires charcoal which is made by burning trees. But as they cannot cut down trees according to their needs because of the Government restriction, this occupation also is faced with great difficulties. Moreover, the indigenous iron cannot compete with the price and quality of the imported iron. Hence this occupation may also be totally given up in time. The people at present are rapidly adopting plough cultivation.

20. The Khasi huts of Mawphlang :—By RAM KRISHNA MUKHERJEE and RAM CHANDRA BASU, Calcutta.

The structure of the Khasi huts of Mawphlang was studied by the writers under the guidance of Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyay. Gurdon in his work on the Khasis of Assam has described the old Khasi hut as elliptical in shape, but in Mawphlang village it was found that the huts can be more strictly said to be 'U'-shaped, the bend of the 'U' being the front, the two parallel arms the sides, and a straight line connecting ends of the arms the rear. The old houses had walls made of bamboo and wood, or stone and wood, and a thatched roof. The house types are now changing both in structure and material.

From a study of all the huts of the village it was found that out of 160 huts, inhabited at present, the typical 'U' type of huts form about 11.3%; the flattened 'U' type about 35%; the intermediate type, which has totally given up the 'U'-shaped ground plan but has its interior of the old type, about 27.5%; and the English bungalow type about 26.3%. This

data show how rapidly the old type of Khasi house is now changing.

21. Tattooing among the Oraons of Marwai, District Ranchi:—By TARUN CHANDRA BAGCHI, Calcutta.

The writer in this paper has described the actual process of tattooing adopted by the Oraons of Marwai, District Ranchi. He personally observed how an young Oraon girl of thirteen was tattooed by a Nagesia Kisan woman of the locality. The process along with the materials and instruments are described. Sketches of designs executed on the different parts of the body are also given.

22. Cleaning, preservation and repairing of glass objects in Museum :— By M. N. BASU, Calcutta.

Chemical composition—Processes of cleaning, preservation and repairing of glass are discussed in this paper. Sweating of glass and diseased condition of glass, and the methods of cleaning and preservation under this condition are also dealt with.

Society.

23. Kinship system and kinship usages in Mahārāshṭra :—By (Mrs.) IRAWATI KARVE', Poona.

Mārāthā kinship terminology is very rich and varied as it uses the concepts and terms of Sanskritic as well as Dravidian origin. It has terms for four ascendant generations and four descendant generations in the direct male line, the fourth term suggesting the reverence of kinship. Among collaterals the concept of cousinship is absent as in all Indian kinship systems. The parallel cousins are called Geschwister and the

cross cousins 'Mehuṇe', i.e. marriage mates. Among descendants, there are sons and daughters. In this category are reckoned, besides own children, those of the brother (man speaking) and those of the sister (woman speaking). The non-sons and non-daughters are the children of the sister (man speaking) and the brother (woman speaking). The words for sister's husband and wife's brother are the same; similarly, those for husband's sister and brother's wife are also the same. There are many pairs of relations having the same term. The principle of reciprocity and difference of terms used according to the juniority or seniority of the speaker are also found.

Some very interesting conclusions can be drawn from the conformity or otherwise of different castes to this kinship pattern. This pattern is not the symbol so much of moiety and clan organizations. The Mārāṭhā kinship pattern belongs to the southern pattern and yet in some important features it is quite distinct.

24. Khasi kinship and social organization :—By K. P. CHATTOPADHYA, Calcutta.

In a paper on Khasi marriage rules Prof. Hodson has tried to explain the special features of the Khasi kinship terms and marriage rules on the hypothesis of a former dual division of Khasi society, and certain new social forces which came into operation when the dual society broke up.

Hodson used for his work, the kinship terms noted in the Assam Census Report, Gurdon's work on Khassis and a dictionary by U. Nissorsing. A full list of Khasi kinship terms was published by Rai Bahadur

S. C. Roy shortly afterwards. The writer of this note collected certain additional details regarding Khasi social rules in a recent tour in Khasi Hills, and collected kinship term afresh, on the genealogical method, to check the list published by Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy.

Khasi kinship terms show that the father's brothers, the mother's sister's husband and the father are referred to by the same term, along with certain qualifying words denoting seniority and juniority. A similar grouping is found in the case of the mother, the mother's sisters and the wives of the father's brothers. These and similar other features of Khasi society are ascribed by Hodson to a previous dual basis of Khasi society. The present writer shows that these features are all explained by the fact that the fundamental social unit among Khasis is the family house and the extended family associated with it; the kur represents a later stage in its expansion. Marriage sets up new relations, but does not disturb this basic structure of Khasi society.

The kinship groupings are worked out in detail and shown to have been influenced by (*a*) residence, (*b*) inheritance, and (*c*) succession to rank as well as authority. Marriage rules have also had their share of influence on the terminology, but they have played a less important part, than the other factors taken together.

*25. The Garo Law of Inheritance :—*By J. K. BOSE,
Calcutta.

According to the Garo Law of Inheritance after the death of a woman the property goes to the

privileged daughter know as *nokna*. In the absence of a daughter, a woman can adopt a daughter of her sisters or a girl from her machong to become her *nokna*. In the case of a childless woman who has not adopted any girl, her property will be equally shared by her sisters who are married in the father's machong. In the absence of all these the property is inherited by the nearest woman relation of her machong.

26. *Incest and its control among the Kurichiyans of Wynad* :—By A. AIYAPPAN, Madras.

The incidence of incest is relatively high among the Kurichiyans who are otherwise an extremely well-ordered group. In this paper the operation of social and religious sanctions against incest and their failure due to the safety-valve provided by Christians missions are described, with illustrative data collected by the writer during the course of his field work.

27. *The Indian cowherd god* :—By NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI, Calcutta.

A re-examination of the position of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa or the Indian cowherd god, in the light of certain facts which have not received adequate consideration, shows that the view that he was an independent deity of Christian origin brought from outside India by the Abhiras or that he was the same as Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, the pastoral association being borrowed from an older tradition and developed by the Abhiras, is untenable. The doubt suggested about the identity of epic Kṛṣṇa and cowherd Kṛṣṇa by the 'incongruity' in their traditional history of Kṛṣṇa is confirmed by the almost complete silence in the epic about cowherd Kṛṣṇa and

by the mention of the hostility of the Abhiras to the house of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva in the episode of the kidnapping of many of the Vṛṣṇi ladies when they were being escorted by Arjuna from Dvārakā to Indraprastha. The inference drawn from these facts is that cowherd Kṛṣṇa was an independent deity of Abhira origin.

Then there is the story in nearly all the Vishnuite Puranas of cow-herd Kṛṣṇa's opposition to the celebration of Indra's festival with graphic accounts in the Visṇu Purana, Harivamśam, etc., of the propagation by him of a primitive type of nature and animal worship among the Gopas, the assertion made by him that this religion was in accordance with their life of forest-dwellers and the threat of violence held out to them in case of refusal to return to this religion, which show him in the rôle of the tribal chief of the Abhiras who resented the increasing influence of Brahmanism on his people and stoutly defended the old tribal religion. The inference drawn from the above is that Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa was a tribal hero of the Abhiras.

After his deification and absorption into the Hindu pantheon Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa, in his two aspects of child-god and lover-god, has come to oust epic Kṛṣṇa and Visṇu in some measure, from actual worship among people, as many of the Vaisṇava festivals show.

28. *Some cure deities*—By NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI, Calcutta.

Beliefs in divine agency and magical agency of cure have prevailed side by side from the earliest times, and scientific progress has not banished these

beliefs. The divine agency operates directly when deities with healing powers are invoked to intervene personally, or indirectly, through secondary divine agencies, that is, objects which derive their potency from divinity through intimate association or transmission. The paper deals with a number of instances of direct appeal to deities for cure purposes among Hindus, Hinduisised tribes and tribal peoples.

Examination of instances selected from all parts of India show : (1) that three classes of deities are worshipped for cure, namely, old Brahmanical deities, e.g. Rudra-Siva and the Devī in the form of Kālī, local deities affiliated to them, e.g. Ulai-Cāṇḍī, Biranath, etc., and purely folk deities, e.g. Ghentu, Vasana-Varī, etc. ; (2) that throughout India female deities are worshipped in epidemic outbreaks of cholera and small-pox ; (3) that in case of other diseases too, female cure deities predominate both in number and importance over male cure deities ; (4) and that there is general tendency among all classes of devotees to affiliate different classes of female cure deities to the Devī or her Puranic demoniacal form Kālī.

This examination further shows that there are two contradictory elements in the conception of female cure deities identified with Kālī, an element of fear based on their destructive power and an element of faith based on their beneficent power. This dual aspect may be traced to the old Vedic conception of Rudra who is the giver as well as the curer of disease

INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. LXIX, Part II, 1939, contains illustrated description of the discoveries of "Palaeolithic Industries in Salsette Island" just north of Bombay, by Lt. Commander K. R. U. Todd, R. N.

In *Man* for June 1940, Mr. M. B. Emeneau, Ph. D., (Yale) writes notes on "*A Chatelaine from Coorg, South India*". In Essays presented to C. G. Seligman (London, 1934) Mr. Clarke in his article "*Modern Survivals of the Sumerian Chatelaine*" discusses the distribution, historical, and geographical of the chate-laine, i.e. a combination of toilet implements, typically three, tweezers, toothpick, and ear-pick hung in a ring, which Mr. Clarke says is very common in India.

Man for September 1940, contains an article entitled "*Combined Pottery and Basketry Specimens from Upper Assam*" by Mr. R. R. Mookerji. This is a short illustrated description of combined earthen pottery and basketry of two Shan tribes viz., Khamti and Singpho of Upper-Assam.

In *Man* for October 1940, Mr. W. V. Grigson, I. C. S., gives a short note on "*Cowrie Shells in the Central Provinces of India*" by way of further evidence from India as to the wearing of Cowries by people to avert Evil Eye.

The December number of *Man* 1940, contains a description of "Disposal by Exposure among the Bathuris of Mayurbhanj State" by Mr. T. C. Das as witnessed by him.

In the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XX, Parts III-IV, 1940, Dr. Irawati Karve in an article on "The Kinship Usages and the Family Organisation in *Rgveda* and *Atharvaveda*," discusses the kinship terminology in relation to family organisation in the two Vedas and attempts to show that in the Atharvaveda family organisation was undergoing a new orientation from that in Rig-veda period in which women were polyandrous.

The same Journal in vol. XXI, Parts I & II, 1940, contains an illuminating article on "Fresh and Further light on the Mohenjo-daro Riddle" by Mr. A. P. Karmarkar.

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVI, No. 3, September 1940, Dr. A. B. Keith writes an article on "Indo-European in the Mediterranean Area". In this article the learned writer has discussed from historical, linguistic and archaeological points of view the probability of the current theories about the probable date of the presence of the people of Indo-European speech in the lands bordering on the Mediterranean Sea and has come to the conclusion that none of the current theories can definitely solve the problem.

The same number contains a learned article about "India and the Archaeology of Malayasia and Indonesia" by Dr. Kalidas Nag. The paper is a discussion

of the origin and distribution of culture and racial elements of India, Malayasia and Indonesia (what is now called Further Asia) and their influence on, and inter-mixture with one another.

In the Journal of the University of Bombay, September 1940, Mr. K. J. Sawer contributes an article "*The Chharars*". The author gives an ethnographic account of this small wandering criminal tribe living in Ahamedabad and in countries near about Gujrat and Kahatiwar.

In Science and Culture for October 1940, Prof. K. P. Chattapadhyaya, contributes a paper on "*The Santal Tree-press and Plank-press*". This is an illustrated description of the two types of oil-press as now used by the Santals of the Santal Parganas and of Mayurbhanj (India) as found and examined by the writer.

The Poona Orientalist, July 1940, publishes a paper by P. K. Gade entitled "*Indian Bullock-Cart, its prehistoric and Vedic ancestors*". It contains some information about different types of two-wheeled vehicles as were and are used in different times in different countries.

In Modern Review for November 1940, Dr. R. K. Das contributes a paper entitled "*India and a New Civilisation*". He describes the contributions of Muslim and Western Civilisation to India and their fusion in Hindu culture and their effects on social and political life in India. He then gives his own idea about cultural reconstruction for the future nationalism of India.

The Bharatiya Vidya, in its November issue 1940, publishes the Presidential Address of Dr. V. S. Sukuthanker entitled "*The Position of Linguistic Study in India*" delivered to the Linguistic Section of the Tenth All India Oriental Conference at Tirupati in 1940.

*The following books have been received
for review.*

1. The Language of Gesture,
By Macdonald Critchley, (Edward Arnold & Co. London.)
2. "Life and Living",
By Frederic Wood Jones, (Kegan Paul, London.)
3. "Aboriginal Woman"
By Phyllis M. Kaberry, (Routledge, London.)
4. "Revenge"
By John White, (A. H. & A. W. Reed, New Zealand.)
5. "Pueblo Indian Religion" Vol. I & II,
By Elsie Clews Parsons, (The University of Chicago Press.)
6. "Population Race & Eugenics"
By Morris Siegel, (Ontario, Canada.)
7. "The Work of the Gods in Tikopia" Vol. II,
By Raymond Firth, (Percy Lund, Humphries, London.)
8. "A History of Indian Philosophy", Vol. III,
By S.N. Das Gupta, (Cambridge University Press, London.)
9. "The Culture Historical Method of Ethnology"
By Wilhelm Schmidt, (Fortuny's, New York.)
10. "The Travancore Tribes and Castes", Vol. III,
By L. K. Iyer, (Supdt. Govt. Press, Trivandrum.)
11. "The Tresse Iron-Age Megalithic Monument",
By V. C. C. Collum, (Oxford University Press, London.)
12. "Yoga Personal Hygiene"
By Shri Yogendra, (The Yoga Institute, Bombay.)
13. "The Vedanta Philosophy or Brahma Sutra"
By Shridhar Majumdar, (Barisal, Bengal.)
14. "India of the Rajahas"
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I. ABBOTS BROMLEY IN A MYTHOLOGICAL LIGHT.

By

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Although much has been written about Abbots Bromley and its Horn Dance, I do not think that the idea of a mythological origin to the dance, and the neighbourhood generally has been sufficiently considered. More attention might be given to the study of mythic figures, both men and animals, and I am looking farther afield than is usual in these matters.

The dance at Abbots Bromley is sometimes said to be pagan in origin. What is "pagan"? Presumably, the word refers to the observances and rites appertaining to the religion prevalent in these islands before the introduction of Christianity, and which was "Monotheistic, under a plurality of forms." Actually, this description has been given to Hinduism, but it applies equally to the organized religion which preceded it, and from which *Hinduism emerged*; also to the religion of the Kelts under their Druidic priests. The similarity of Druidic and Brahmanical teaching has often been commented upon.

The colours of the Horn Dancers were originally Red and white, like those of the Basque Morris Dancers, and the players in the traditional Ball-game at Kirkby Malzead, near Ripon. These colours have now been recognized as those of the Christian Church. They are also those of Agni, Spirit of Fire, and the Great High Priest, in the older religion. Agni is Triple-headed, and has a Threefold Birth, and a Triple Abode.

Fire sacrifices are called *Agni-hotra*, and according to the religious law of the *Vedas*, the Fire-priests churn the newly-kindled *Fire* by the friction of two pieces of wood. Through these mystic rites Agni, the Fire-god, comes into being. He rides a *He-Goat*, a symbol of Virility.

The Horn Dance, as I see it, relates to the *Maruts* or wind-gods of Sanskrit literature, whose vehicles are *Speckled Deer*. It is serpentine in character, and divides itself into Three. It starts from the church of St. Nicholas, and the *Reindeer Horns* are given out once a year on this occasion to the dancers by the Vicar. It therefore has a religious foundation, and in former days was probably the accompaniment of Fire ceremonies.

The name *Bromley* in both *Abbots Bromley* and *Bagots Bromley*, three miles away, may have been in former times the Field of *Brom* or *Brahmā*, the Creator. The sacred Field in limited and localized form, as on a vaster scale, represents the Great Mother of the Universe.

The Sanskrit name for the zodiacal month extending from about the sixteenth of November to the

sixteenth of December is *Mriga-Sirā* (Head of a Deer), and the *Deer* is Brahmā, the Creator. This month covers the Feast of St. Nicholas, Patron Saint of Abbots Bromley !

Passing over all legends which have grown around the Horn Dance since the introduction of Christianity we may notice the man in the procession who is clad in White, and who carries a Ladle, now used for collecting money. He may originally have been a Druidical priest or acolyte. In pre-Christian times the Wooden Spoon may well have been an accessory to *Fire* ceremonies. In India more than one kind of Ladle is used for sacramental purposes. The Ladle is a symbol of Brahmā, and the Keltic Ladle in Abbots Bromley may bear some affinity to it.

The *Blue* Horn carried by one of the dancers possibly represents the *Blue* Sarasvatī (*Tārā*) who is one of the Ten Manifestations of the Mother Goddess (the female aspect of Brahmā, the One and only God). *Blue* is the colour of Fertility. In *Tarland* (the Land of *Tārā* ?) in Aberdeenshire there is a *Blue* Cairn called *Ladieswell*. *Tārā* is Our Lady, Star of the Sea, but not the earthly sea ; she is the Cosmic Ocean, in one of its forms.

The big *White* Horn, carried by another of the men, may be reminiscent of *Etain* or *Etan* (Sanskrit, *Eta*=Deer). *Etain* is the wife of *Eochu* of the Kelts, and *Eochu* apparently evolved into *St. Nicholas*, who is Patron Saint of Abbots Bromley ! *Etain*, the *White* Phantom, or Lady of Keltic legend, identical with *Be Find* and *Guinevere*, probably corresponds to *Sarasvati* of India, the *White* goddess, and goddess of Learning.

St. Nicholas (*Santa Claus*), Patron Saint of Children, appears to have evolved from *Eochu*, *Eoghain* or *Ewen*, Priest-king at *Tara* in County Meath, Ireland; and who, according to *The Destruction of De Derga's Hostel*, officiated actually or mythically at the Fire ceremonies there. The name *Eochu* may be a corruption of that of *Kartikeya* who, with his consort *Devasena*, is the Guardian deity of *New-born Babies*. *Kartikeya* "sprang from fire".

In England more churches have been dedicated to *St. Nicholas* than to any other saint ; and often, if new, they are standing on ancient sites. It is interesting to look round a little at some of the place-names connected with this saint. *Bromham-with-Oakley*, Bedfordshire, is an ecclesiastical parish presided over by *St. Nicholas*, and the name coincides with that of *Bromley*, when viewed from a mythological standpoint. It also suggests *Oak-trees*, for which *Bagots Bromley* is famous. There is a church of *St. Nicholas* at *Sevenoaks* in Kent. The dedications to this saint at *East Dereham*, Norfolk, and in *Guildford*, Surrey, near *Stag Hill* suggest the sacred *Deer*, and there are many others with mythological suggestions. A few churches appear to have retained the name of a former allegorical figure from which the present saint has emerged as, for instance, *St. Andrew Hubbard* (*Hari-padi* or *Vishnu*). The name of this church (which is now demolished) and those of *St. Andrew Undershaft*, and *St. Nicholas Acons*, all in the City of London, seem to have been on the same mythological plan. The second part of the latter may refer to *Eochu* or *Eoghain*, who developed into *St. Nicholas*. *St.*

Catherine Cree, another London church, retains the name of *Cree* (Lakshmi), with a Wheel emblem like that of *St. Catherine*. The double dedication of the abbey of Burton, in Staffordshire, which was under Benedictine rule, may have been carrying out the same idea.

The pre-Reformation church in Abbots Bromley, Staffordshire, belonged to this abbey, which was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and St. Modwenna or *Modwen*. The saint Modwen is believed to be the same character as *St. Etain*, and their festal days are the same, *the fifth of July*. Thus, St. Nicholas, Patron Saint of the church in Abbots Bromley may have been originally the Keltic figure *Eochu*, and *St. Modwen*, Patroness of Burton Abbey, to which the church of St. Nicholas belonged, may have been his consort, *Etain*.

Edin or *Etain* appears to be the Patron Saint of Edinburgh, judging by the name and the arms of that city. *Edin* is depicted in the coat-of-arms as a Maiden clothed in *Red* with a *Doe* beside her. *Red* is the colour of Kartikeya who, apparently, is the original of her third consort *Eochu*. Kartikeya is worshipped in India in the latter half of November, in the same zodiacal month as that in which the Feast of St. Nicholas occurs in the Christian Calendar. *Eochu* stands as a link between *St. Nicholas* and *Kartikeya*; he is the son of *Breas* or *Bress* of the Kelts and *Kartikeya* is the son of *Brihaspati* (*Brihas*=Fire; *Pati*=Lord), Priest of the Celestials. *Kartikeya*, the Son-god, *par excellence*, in the old religion, is born towards the end of November, which formerly for

both Kelts and Hindus, was the beginning of the New Year.

The name of *St. Sair* or *St. Serf* and also that of *Saar*, the *Doe* mother of Ossian, are relevant to the subject, and support the mythological connections, as also that of *St. Nicholas-at-Wade-with Sarre*, the name of an ecclesiastical parish in Kent. The name *Sair*, *Saar* or *Sarre* may be compared to the Sanskrit word *Sarayanga* (*Deer*) which is contracted by Hindus into *Sar*, also with the name of the famous *Deer Forest* of *Sarnath*, near Benares.

St. Sair or *Serf* (Cf. French, *Cerf*=*Stag*) is honoured on the *last Tuesday in June*, and the Feast of *Etto*, the mythic founder of the Benedictine monastery at *Ettenheim* in the Black Forest, is held on the *tenth of July*. Thus, the festivals of *Etain*, *Modwen*, *Etto* and *Serf*, all of whom seem to have some connection with the sacred *Deer*, occur in the same zodiacal month (16 June—16 July). *Serf* is associated with the Firth of Forth and with Kentigern, whose emblem is a *Stag*! He it is who receives Kentigern from his mother Themis or Thenew, after his birth beside a smouldering Fire on the beach at Culross, Fife. In India deities are sometimes impersonated in the form of animals, as all Creation is One. Vishnu, for instance, takes the form of a Fish, then of a Turtle, and afterwards of a Boar. It is probable that *Serf* is an animal deity, the *Stag*. Themis represents the Cosmic Waters in localized form, and Kentigern, like Arthur¹, is “born of the

¹ See “*The Coming of Arthur*”, by Lord Tennyson.

waters". In the case of Arthur it is Merlin who receives the infant, born of Fire and Water, the masculine and feminine elements in Creation. The father of Kentigern is Ewen, King of Cumbria (Eochu).

Abbots Bromley was in the kingdom of *Mercia*, and Edburga, obviously the same character as Etain, was daughter of Penda or *Pinda*, a "pagan" king of Mercia. According to Hindu literature the *Pitris* or *Pitaras* "came to be called *Pinda*"². In the Sanskrit Nominative *Pitara* is *Pita* (the "a" not sounded). The Picts or *Pitts* of the British Isles are manifestly the *Pitaras*. They were followers of *Dis Pater*, the Keltic Sky-god, who can scarcely be other than *Dayus Pitarah*, the Sky-god or Heaven Father of Hindu India.

Abbots Bromley possesses a *Goat's Head Inn*. It will be remembered that the Goat is the vehicle of Agni, god of Fire and that the Keltic counterpart of *Brihaspati* (Agni) is *Breas*, father of Eochu (St. Nicholas)!

A herd of fine *Goats* have been preserved from time immemorial in *Bagots Park* in the parish of Abbots Bromley. The crest of the Barony of *Bagot* consists of the Head of a *Goat*, and the supporters to the coat-of-arms are also *Goats*. The motto of this very old family is singularly appropriate—"Possessing Antiquity".

On the tower of the church in Abbots Bromley are four cinerary urns in stone. From each of these urns on the church tower a Flame of Fire emerges.

* *Santi Parva of the Mahabharata.*

Symbolic ideas cannot be dated ; they do not accord with any special building, nor do they even confine themselves to any particular form of religion. *Cre-mation* is one of the four cardinal tenets of Hinduism, successor to Aryanism.

There are other features in the neighbourhood of Abbots Bromley which suggest a mythological association. *Droods Heath* takes us back to the time of the Druids, and also, perhaps, the *Beggar's Oak*, mentioned in the recently-published book *Abbots Bromley*, by Marcia Rice. I venture to think that this tree received its name, not from any beggar or beggars, but from *Bhaga*, a Sanskrit word for the *Oak*. *Bhaga*, as a personality, is Lord of Trees ; he is one of the Twelve *Adityas*, or Shining Ones of India ; and, possibly, one of the Twelve Knights of King Arthur's Round Table is his counterpart. The place-name *Ellastone* in this district may indicate a sacred Stone of which *Ella* or *Ilā*, a form of the Earth Mother, was the deifical occupant.

Eochu, forerunner of St. Nicholas, and *Themis*, not *Etain*, are the parents of *Kentigern*. The father of a deifical child is seldom the husband of his mother, although it is sometimes the case. *Kentigern*, however, is closely associated with the symbolic *Deer*. St. Nicholas (*Eochu*) and St. Modwen (*Etain*) are the prominent allegorical figures of this district, although not the only ones. *Etain* is manifestly a *Deer* goddess. She has three husbands, probably in different incarnations. The first is *Mider* or *Modred*, and *Modred* is probably *Mitra*, another *Aditya* of India ; he is a son or nephew, i. e., a part of *Arthur*.

King Arthur is one of the "Three Red-spotted Ones of the Island of Prydain" (Britain), and, in this aspect, is surely a Spotted Deer? The Deer goddess *Morrigu* or *Morgan le Fay* is a sister of Arthur, and may be connected with *Morgant*, another of the Three Red-spotted Deer in the Welsh triad.

The second husband of Etain is Angus Og, and the third, Eochu. I do not think that the three Etains were grandmother, mother and daughter, but that this belief grew up when reincarnation had been lost sight of.

The following table is not in accordance with accepted opinion on these subjects, but I offer it, for investigation, with a Hindu table with which it appears to correspond.

Brom	Brahmā, the Creator
Angus = Etain	Angiras
Breas	Brihaspati = Tara
Eochu = Etain	Kartikeya = Devasena
Kentigern	(a numerous progeny)

To continue with the subject of the allegorical *Deer* in these islands, one may notice the Abbey of *Deer*, in Aberdeenshire, not thought to have any connection with this sacred animal, but which, nevertheless, shows signs of it. The abbey stood on the site of a famous pre-Christian Keltic monastery, and the river which flowed past it has a Keltic name, *Ugie*. *Ug* is a Sanskrit root, and *Ugra* is a name for Siva,

third person of the Hindu trinity, in the form of Vāyu, the Wind-god, who rides an Antelope, a species of Deer! *Ugrasena* was a *Nāga* or Serpent king, and *Ugraka* is mentioned in a list of human Serpents of the Serpent race.

What have the *Nāgas* to do with Aberdeenshire? The district now known under this name was formerly inhabited by the tribe *Taxili*; *Taxila* (*Takshasila*) in Northern India was a Serpent capital named after *Takshaka*, a *Naga* chief!

The tribe *Icenii* of East Anglia was formerly known as *Ugainiau*, and we may see traces of the root *Ug* in *Uggeshall*, Suffolk, *Ugborough*, Devon and *Ugworthy*, Somerset, also in the surname *Ugworthy*.

Apparently *Drostan* was a mythic Abbot of Deer. He was a nephew of King *Mark* of Cornwall. The name *Drostan* may also be recognized in *St. Dunstan's Hill* in East London, which was probably a sacred Mound in honour of *Drostan*, who afterwards became *Sir Trystan*, one of Arthur's Knights. The name originally appears to have been *Dristan*, as seen in Drum parish, County Tyrone, Ireland. At Menabilly, Cornwall, it takes the form of *Drust-Agni*. Possibly, in the back-ground, *Drostan* is *Drishtadyumna*, part of Agni. On the St. Vigean's Stone, in Angus Scotland, an inscription begins with the name *Drostan*. *Droustie's Well* and *Droustie's Meadow* are in the neighbourhood where *Drustie's Fair* used to be held.

The name *Ette* or *Ete* is likely to refer to *Etain*; the name *Ete* is mentioned in the *Book of Deer*, and *Ette* is inscribed on the St. Vigean's Stone, in Angus, a district named after her second husband. The name

Evagainnias (*Eochu*, third husband of *Etain*), as also her own in the form of *Ette* is on the Pitmachie Stone in Aberdeenshire, which has been moved from its original position.

Morrighu (*Modwen*), sister of Arthur, appears to be identical with *Meriga*, wife of Hercules as represented in Swiss legend, and much more could be said on this subject. As *Morgan le Fay* she seems to have been the special deity of the *Clan Morgan*, mentioned in the *Book of Deer*. The *Deer* goddess who makes her appearance in Keltic as *Etain*, *Modwen* and *Morrighu* is obviously *Mrigi* of India who is Mother of all the Deer. "The offspring of Mrigi are all animals of the Deer species."³

It would seem that *Eta* or *Etain* has been the inspiration for many place-names both here and on the European continent, but I cannot enter fully into the subject in a short article. To give some examples:—*Etal*, Northumberland, is the Hall of *Eta*. *Ettingham*, Warwickshire, family seat of the Earls Ferrers, also suggests *Etain*. The coat-of-arms of this noble family has *Deer* supporters. *Ettisley* Cambridgeshire, is the name of a nunnery; *Etwell* (*Etewelle* in *Domesday*), Derbyshire, looks like the Well of *Ete*. *Attingham*, Shropshire, is the Ham of *Eata's* people," and *Attington* (*Ettendun* in 1209) is *Eatta's Dun*, the Fort or settlement of *Eta's* people. *Eochu* and *Etain* (*St. Nicholas* and *St. Modwen*) are pre-Christian characters, and are highly allegorical; the basis of Abbots Bromley legend cannot be probed until more study is given to these figures.

³ *AdiParva* of the *Mahabharata*, Section LXVI.

No sharp dividing line can be drawn between one form of religion and another, neither can one be set between anything else in the universe. All are interwoven and inter-dependent!

*"All are but parts of One stupendous Whole,
Whose Body Nature is, and God, the Soul."*

II. THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF THE UDAIPUR STATE (C. P.) *

By

MANINDRA BHUSAN BHADURI, B. L.

The Udaipur State in the Eastern States Agency is one of the five "Chhotā-Nagpur States" which form the border of the Central Provinces. This State covers an area of 1045 square miles lying between $22^{\circ}3'$ and $20^{\circ}47'$ N. and $83^{\circ}2'$ and $83^{\circ}48'$ E., and is bounded on the north by the Surguja State, on the east by the Jashpur State and Raigarh State, on the south by the Raigarh State and on the west by the district of Bilaspur which is separated by the river Mand which runs north to south along its eastern boundary. It forms the south-western part of the Chhotā Nāgpur plateau walled in on the north by the *Māin Pat* table land (3781 feet) which makes a steep descent of 1500 feet into the fertile valley of the Mand River in this State and is continued by a succession of terraces to Raigarh, the southern boundary of this State, interspersed by broken, detached hills, which form irregular links through Jashpur and Chhotā Nāgpur (Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Manbhumi, Sing-

* This paper was read before the Anthropological Section of the Twenty-eighth Session of the Indian Science Congress, held at Benares in January, 1941.

Udaipur, Surguja, Jashpur, Koren and Changbhakar. These five States were at first part of the Southwestern Frontier Agency of Bengal and were transferred to C. P. in 1905, and since 1933 form part of the Eastern States Agency which is now divided into three parts, the Orissa States, the Chhattisgarh States and the Bengal States.

bhum and Palamau) of the Central Indian formation which extends up to the Raj Mahal hills. The northern half of the State is hilly and covered with forests while the southern portion is more level and plain. The Mand river, after running about half its course, is met by the Korja River which also has its source near the water-fall at Jaldega on the slope of the Mainpat, and finally falls into the Mahanadi river. The upper portion of the Mand river is also called Mahanand.

2. By reason of its geographical position, this State is a complex cultural area and as such affords a field of great interest in ethnology. Its eastern boundary is about 40 miles from the boundary of the Ranchi district of Chhotā Nāgpur and about 20 miles from the boundary of the Gangpur State (one of the Orissa States) which again meets the Bonai State to the south and Ranchi and Singhbhum to the north and east. Singhbhum adjoins Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar States to the south and Mayurbhanj touches the southern part of Bengal. Its northern boundary touches the Surguja State which again touches the district of Mirzapur and all the rivers rising from the northern slope of the *Māin Pāt* flow into the Son river. Its western boundary, which touches the Korba Zamindari of the Bilaspur district, is about 80 miles from Amarkantak in the Maikal range which is the source of the two famous rivers, the Narbada and the Son, and about 60 miles from Ratanpur (in Bilaspur district) the old seat of the princes of the ancient Haibaya dynasty. The hill ranges of this State connect the Maikal range to the west, with the Chhotā Nāgpur hill ranges which are a continuation

of the Vindhya hills through Surguja State, and of which the Parasnath hills and the Rajmahal hills form parts. The Maikal hills and the Mahadeo hills and Satpura hills form one long range from east to west of India, to the south of which runs the river Tapti and to the north of which runs the Narbada river. The Vindhya hills and the Kaimur hills run east to west to the north of the Narbada river, and the Son penetrates through the Vindhya tassels to meet the Ganges. These descriptions have become necessary to explain the distribution of the different branches of the tribes which now live in the Udaipur State. They are all either of the Munda or Kol stock or of a mixed Munda and Dravidian stock.

3. The climate of this State is similar to that of the Chhotā Nāgur plateau exhibiting a greater range of temperature. The average rainfall is about 62 inches, and being on the southern slope of the Chhotā Nāgpur plateau proper, its soil is much more fertile. The climate is unhealthy in the forest areas.

4. The early history of this State is closely bound up with the history of the Surguja State with which it is geographically and politically related. As a matter of fact, this State along with Jashpur, Korea and Changbhakar was originally a feudal dependency of the Surguja State and never escaped the vicissitudes of fortune which overtook the Surguja State. About 1700 years ago, the whole tract of southwestern Chhotā Nāgpur plateau was invaded by a Raksel Rajput Chief (Raksel is a corruption of the name Arksel a scion of the Yadava Lunar dynasty of Mahabharata fame who gave the name to this

branch of the Rajputs) who subdued the aboriginal Chiefs who were occupying the tract and made himself the ruler of the whole tract. Who these aborigines were who inhabited this tract, is to be traced to the remnants of the various tribes now found in this tract in various stages of culture and civilisation. These are the Kawars, the Gonds, the Oraons, the Mundas, the Kharias, the Korwas, the Bhuinyas, the Majhwars the Majhis, the Nagbansis, the Cheros, the Birhors, the Pandos, the Saontas, the Saonrs, the Bhuinhars, the Dhanuhars, the Kewats, etc. The Udaipur State forms the southernmost part of this tract. The tradition is that the name Udaipur is derived from the name of its erstwhile aboriginal ruler named Udai Keota. Gradually it passed into the hands of a scion of the Surguja Rāj family.

5. Within historical times, this tract did not escape the attention of the Pathan and Mughal rulers of India. In or about 1346, the country was invaded by a Musalman invader named Khalifa, two of whose coins are still in possession of the present Chief of Surguja. The Marhattas overran this country in 1758 and exacted tribute till in 1818 all these States were ceded to the British Government by the Marhattas. The Udaipur State was at that time ruled by one Kalyan Singh who paid his tribute through Surguja. In 1852 the Udaipur State escheated to Government and in 1860 it was conferred on Raja Bindheswari Prasad Singh Deo, a brother of the then Chief of Surguja, whose descendants are now ruling it.

6. That this tract as well as the outlying countries were at one time occupied by a race far more civilised than its present inhabitants is proved by the remains of

temples² and inscriptions scattered here and there. Thus, in the Ramgarh hills there are several temples and caves known as "Sita Bengra" and "Lakhsni Bengra" closely resembling the rock dwellings of the Buddhists at Khandagiri, containing images of Hanuman, Ganesh, Bhairab, Ravana, Kumbhakarana, Lakshman and Sita, inscriptions in Brahmi script and cave paintings in the Yogimara³ about 30 feet above the Sita Bangra.

In the Udaipur State there are paintings in a cave at Bani Pahar⁴ about 5 miles south of Dharamjaygarh. These might be rudimentary paintings of some cave-dwelling tribes in some by-gone ages. In Sakti State, there is a rock inscription in village Ganji 14 miles from Sakti. It is in Pali script and Rai Bahadur Hiralal has assigned its date to the 1st Century A.D. In Sarangarh State a copper plate inscription of the Sharabhapur kings belonging to the 8th century A.D. was found and it is in possession of the Chief. The oldest temples of the Mahaprabhu and of the Keotin (a female votary of the Mahaprabhu) are in village Pujari-pali in Sarangarh State. In the Changbhakar State (adjoining Rewa) in village Harchoka, near its northern boundary, "the remains of extensive excavations supposed to be temples and monasteries were

² For a full account of these antiquities, the *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XVII, Pages 231 ff. may be referred to.

³ An article published by Mr. Narendra Nath Mallik who recently visited the place, in the *Hindusthan Standard* of September 1, 1941, gives a description of the paintings in Yogimara Cave.

⁴ A description of these paintings has also appeared in an article published by Mr. Narendra Nath Mallik in the Bengali magazine *Prabartak* of Bhadra B. E. 1347.

discovered in 1870—71”⁵: These are certainly the work of a more civilised race than the present inhabitants of the State.

The Korea State which is nothing but one vast mass of hill ranges bounded on the north by the Rewa State, on the east by the Surguja State, and on the west by the Changbhakar State, contains the Sonhat plateau which forms the watershed of streams flowing north, south and west. It was traditionally the stronghold of a Kol Raja who was dispossessed by the ancestors of the present chief about 18 centuries ago. It contains five old tanks which are works altogether beyond the powers of the present inhabitants—mainly the Gonds, Kawars and the Rajwars.

7. As stated above, all these regions comprising the five “Chhotā Nāgpur States” of Surguja, Udaipur, Jashpur, Korea and Changbhakar as well as the adjoining British district of Bilaspur and the States of Sarangarh, Sakti, and Raigarh are mainly peopled by aboriginal tribes (in various proportions) originally speaking languages of the Austric family and of the Dravidian family. According to the classification adopted at the Census of 1931⁶ by Dr. Hutton (*vide* Census Report, Vol. I Part II, Imperial Tables, Pages 522—23) they are as follows:—

⁵ C. P. States Gazetteer, P. 308.

⁶ Bhiujhwar, Bhuinya, together with a number of other tribes had a total population of 1050760, the Birhors—2371, the Cheros—17906, the Munda, Kharia, Kherwar together with some other tribes of the same group—2315276, Korwa (together with Korku) 246765, Majhwar and Majhi—23414, Nagesia—50977 (together with Nagbansi not mentioned separately in the Imperial Tables), Saonr (together with Sawara, Savar, Saharia)—675628, the Oraons—1021334, the Gond Kawar (together with others of the Gond group)—4719222 (*Imperial Tables*, 1931).

Austroasiatic family:—Kol Group

(linguistic) Bhinjhwar, Bhuihar (Bhuinya),
Birhor, Chero, Kol, Kherwar,
Kharia, Korwa, Majhwar,
Majhi, Nagesia, Saonta, Saonr.

Intermediate group of the Dravidian family: { Oraon Group
(described as Dravidian-speaking with Munda affinities)
Oraon
Gond Group
(Dravidian-speaking tribes with Oriya or Hindi speaking derivative castes)
Gond, Dhanuhar, Kawar.

8. The aboriginal tribes—the Pandos (found only in Udaipur and Surguja States) and the Bhuinhars and the Nagbansi (found only in Udaipur, Jashpur and Surguja States), are not mentioned in the list of the Imperial Tables, but short mention of these tribes has been made by Mr. Shoobert in the Census Report of the Central Provinces (vol. XII Part I for 1931, Appendix III: Aboriginal tribes of the Central Provinces, Pages 397—429). According to Mr. Shoobert the Nagbansi are a branch of the Nagesias, and the Bhuinhars and the Bhuinyas are identical. As regards the Pandos, he has not given any finding. He has merely mentioned that in the Census of 1921, they were amalgamated with the Bhuinhars but they do not resemble the Bhuinhars, that according to Rai Bahadur Hiralal they are akin to the Kawars, but this is discounted by him. He states that he found a resemblance between the Pandos and the Korwas but deferred their classification definitely until further

evidence was forthcoming, and hence in the Census of 1931 they were merely reorded as 'Tribal' and they were excluded from any particular racial group.

9. In considering the present distribution of these aboriginal tribes I take the Census figures of 1911 as more accurate than those in the succeeding census reports as a large number of many of these tribes were returned as Hindus in the Census of 1931. In the Udaipur State they are shown as follows in 1911:—

Kawar⁷—20863 (Animist), 399 (Hindu)

Korwa⁸—762 (Animist), 8 (Hindu)

Kol⁹—21 (Animist)

⁷ The distribution of Kawars in C. P. & Berar is as follows:—
in order of numbers (*Census Report* of 1911 Part II Vol. X. Table XIII) Narbada Division—Nil, Berar Division—1, Jubbalpur Division—33, Nagpur Division—2409 (Hindu), 1 (Animist) Chhattisgarh Division—88012 (Hindu), 46 (Animist), Drug—6227, Raipur—27817, Bilaspur—53934.

Feudatory States—110421 (Hindu), 28485 (Animist), Changbhakar 2075 (Hindu), 42 (Animist), Khairagarh—7238 (Hindu), 6 (Animist), Jashpur—8997 (Hindu) 8 (Animist), Nandgaon—9139 (Hindu), Surguja—40860 (Hindu), 103 (Animist), Udaipur—20863 (Animist), 397 (Hindu), Raigarh—36770 (Hindu), 18 (Animist), Sakti—3824 (Hindu), 4 (Animist).

⁸ The total number of Korwas is 29394 (Animist) and 4606 (Hindu) and they are distributed as follows:—

Surguja—17399 (Animist), 563 (Hindu), Jashpur—10860 (Animist), 2636 (Hindu), Bilaspur—6 (Animist) 858 (Hindu), Udaipur—762 (Animist) 8 (Hindu), Raigarh—328 (Animist), 35 (Hindu), Changbhakar—407 (Hindu).—Places with a population of less than one hundred are not given.

⁹ The total population of Kol in C. P. & Berar is 58779 (Hindu), 40819 (Animist); the highest number being in the Jubbalpur Division—44679 (Hindu) 40819 (Animist). Elsewhere they are found only in Korega, Changbhakar, Surguja, Udaipur and Jashpur—the total being 985 (Hindu) and 5155 (Animist) in the C.P. Feudatory States.

Kharias ¹⁰—471

Gond ¹¹—6420 (Animist), 187 (Hindu)

Birhor ¹²—No figures are given in the Census of 1911 but in the Language Table 52

¹⁰ No separate figure is given for the *Kharias* in the Census of 1911, but a total of 9180 is given for C. P. & Berar. So the figures are taken from R. B. S. C. Roy's book '*The Kharias*'—They are distributed as follows :—

Chhota Nagpur—85360, Orissa—51806, Central Provinces—13266
The other States containing a population of above 1000 are Jashpur and Raigarh.

¹¹ The total Gond population in C. P. & Berar (They are found nowhere else except in Central India, Bihar and Orissa the total Gond population of which does not exceed 5 lakhs, (their presence in Assam is due to later immigrations and in Madras and Hyderabad may also due to the same cause); in 1911 it was 367257 (Hindu) 1966636 (Animist). The highest figure shown against C. P. Feudatory States is—533600 (Animist) and 45100 (Hindu), then comes Narbada Division—333400 (Animist) and 23800 (Hindu), then Nagpur Division—333400 (Animist) and 48200 (Hindu), then Chhattisgarh Division—196700 (Animist) and 169500 (Hindu), then Jabbalpore Division—226600 (Animist) and 55245 (Hindu). Of the Feudatory States, Bastar heads the list with 283200 (Animist), 2300 (Hindu), then comes Surguja—84027 (Animist), 832 (Hindu), then Kanker—68300 (Animist), 200 (Hindu), then Nandgaon—25700 (Animist), 369 (Hindu), then Raigarh—4285 (Animist), 18923 (Hindu), then Korea—19805 (Animist), 135 (Hindu), then Khairagarh—15000 (Hindu), 8400 (Animist), then Kawarda—13600 (Animist), 115 (Hindu), finally Sakti, Changbhakar, Jashpur etc. have each less than 10000.

¹² In the Census of 1911 separate figures for Birhors are only given for the whole of the province of Bihar as 2340 and the whole of C. P. and Berar including the Feudatory States as 153. (Appendix to Table XIII in part II Vol. X *Census Report, 1911*) (Hazaribagh 1024, Ranchi 927, *vide* R. B. S. C. Roy's *Birhors* Page 37).

persons are shown as speaking the Birhor dialect.

Bhuinhar¹³—475 (Animist), 16 (Hindu).

Dhanwar¹⁴—583 (Animist).

Majhwar¹⁵—2874 (Animist), 4 (Hindu).

Chero¹⁶—No separate figure is given for the Udaipur State.

Nagesia¹⁷—3313 (Animist), 4 (Hindu).

Saonta¹⁸—1772 (Animist), 7 (Hindu).

¹³ The total for C.P. and Berar is 16470 (Hindu) and 11150 (Animist) of which most are in Jashpur, Surguja, Raigarh and Kore a and Udaipur and Bilaspur, the highest figures being 12571 in Surguja and 7317 in Jashpur State. The Bhuinyas are included in these figures.

¹⁴ The total for C. P. and Berar is 18637 of which 10416 is in Bilaspur alone, the next highest figures being for Surguja and Raigarh and Udaipur in the Feudatory States.

¹⁵ The total for C. P. and Berar is 9849 (Hindu) and 5361 (Animist) Majhwars being found only in Bilaspur—124 (Animist) 6337 (Hindu), Raigarh—1150 (Animist) 509 (Hindu), Surguja—211 (Animist) 2578 (Hindu), Sarangarh—338 (Hindu), Sakti—73, Jubbalpore 2.

¹⁶ In the Census of 1911 only 220 Cheros are shown for the whole of C. P. and Berar, of whom 197 were in the Feudatory States, 20 in Bilaspur and 3 in Mandla. There are no separate figures for the Udaipur State against which only 588 persons are shown in columns 680 and 681 for minor castes which includes Birhor, Binjhia, Chero, and Kharia.

¹⁷ The total for C.P. and Berar is 39886 (Hindu) and 4279 (Animist). Nagesias are found only in Surguja—21123 (Hindu) and 943 (Animist), in Jashpur—16055 (Hindu), 23 (Animist), in Raigarh—2382 (Hindu), in Sakti—109 (Hindu), in Bilaspur—212 (Hindu). These figures evidently include the Naghansis.

¹⁸ The total for C. P. and Berar is 3102 (Hindu) and 7301 (Animist) Saontas are found only in Bilaspur (218), and Udaipur 1772 (Animist), 7 (Hindu), and Surguja 2597 (Hindu), 5229 and in (Animist), Korea (77), and in Raigarh (6).

Sawara or Saonr¹⁹—63 (Hindu).

Oraon²⁰—6303 (Animist), 73 (Hindu).

Pando²¹—No figures are given in the Census report of 1911.

10. In the Language Table (X) in the Census report of 1911 the following languages are shown as spoken in Udaipur State (of course English and other languages not relevant to the enquiry are excluded):

Aryan Hindi by 56109 persons

Dravidian by 6027 persons (1 Gondi, 1 Telugu and 6025 Oraon)

Munda by 418 persons (Kharwari 62, Korwa 4, other Kherwari 58, Birhor 52, Kharia 236, Asuri 6).

11. The statements in para 9 above give a fair description of the present distribution and number of the aboriginal tribes inhabiting this State. It will be

¹⁹ The total for C. P. and Berar is 74181 all Hindus, 27782 in Jnbbalpore Division, 28912 in Chhattisgarh Division and 17268 in the Feudatory States where they are found only in Bastar, Sakti, Raigarh, Sarangarh, Surguja, Jashpur and Udaipur. Raigarh and Saraugargh having the largest number.

²⁰ The total for C. P. and Berar is 5009 (Hindu), 78090 (Animist), distributed as follows:—Raipur (1398 Hindu, 45 Animist), Bilaspur (2824 Hindu, 52 Animist), Drug (9 Hindu), Bastar (129 Hindu, 48 Animist), Sakti (86 Hindu, 323 Animist), Raigarh (42 Hindu, 6066 Animist), Sarangarh (67 Hindu, 864 Animist), Korea (1 Hindu, 634 Animist), Surguja (51 Hindu, 39719 Animist), Jashpur (229 Hindu, 24036 Animist). Besides these there are 36362 Christian Oraons in Jashpur.

²¹ It is stated that in the Census of 1921 Pandos were included among the Bhuihars. (Chapter XII, Page 368 of the C. P. *Census Report* of 1931, Vol. XII Part I).

seen that the Kawars form the largest population of the total number of aboriginal tribes in this State. Next come the Gonds, the Oraons, Nagesias, Majhwars, Saontas, Korwas, Dhanwars, Bhuihars, Kharias and lastly the Pandos, Cheros, Saonrs, Birhors and Kols.

12. Although the Kawars are said to be of the same stock as the Pre-Dravidian Gonds of the Dravidian linguistic family, their distribution shows that they are mainly concentrated in the three States of Surguja, Udaipur and Raigarh and continuing through Bilaspur to Raipur with a sprinkling in the other States—Korea, Changbhakar, Jashpur, Khairagarh and Nandgaon. They are very few only in the Chanda district adjoining Chhattisgarh Division and almost none at all in Berar and the Jubbalpore Division. That is, their country lies roughly within the rectangle formed by Long. 80° — 84° and Lat. 24° — 20° , in the narrow region running north to south between the river Wainganga and Maikal range in the east, and the rivers Mahanadi and Ib in the west, and Palamau district in the north, and Mardian hills in the South. The only noticeable feature is that the highest number of animists among the Kawars, so recorded, is in the Udaipur State.

13. The Gonds are however very widely distributed throughout C. P. and Berar as well as in the Feudatory States in large numbers, the only feature worthy of notice being that the highest figure is against the C. P. Feudatory States, and of these States, Bastar heads the list, Surguja comes second and Jashpur comes last with 3759 persons and Udaipur has only 6607. Their country lies between Lat. 24° — 16° and

Long. 76° — 84° . The Udaipur State therefore lies on the north-eastern fringe of the Gond country, and the Gonds in this State are therefore numerically and politically a much less influential community than the Kawars.

14. The Oraons are mainly concentrated in the Ranchi district, numbering 398768 (88647 Christians) out of a total of 587411 in the whole of Bihar and Orissa. In the Jashpur State, they number 24265 (36362 Christians), out of a total of 83009 in C.P. and Berar. I leave out the Oraon population of Assam and Bengal where they are only comparatively recent immigrants. In the Santal Parganas their congeners are known by a different name and form the tribe of Maler or Mal Paharias. It is quite evident that, in course of time, some of them spread out from Jashpur into the neighboring States of Surguja, Raigarh and Udaipur, and by a circuitous route through Surguja, travelled to Bilaspur and Raipur in search of employment. Their presence in Raipur and Bilaspur in very small numbers cannot therefore be said to be due to race migrations in past times. The country of the Oraons therefore lies roughly between Lat. 24° — 22° and Long. 83° — 86° in the region bounded by the Gaya district in the north, Udaipur and Raigarh States in the south, Korea State in the west and Gangpur State in the east with an island of Mal Paharias in the Santal Parganas outside this boundary.

15. The Dhanwars are a small section of derivative caste, speaking Hindi, and are mainly found in the Bilaspur district and in the three States of Surguja, Udaipur and Raigarh. Their number is very small in the Udaipur State.

16. In considering the habitat and distribution of the various tribes of the Kol or Munda group found in the Udaipur State, it is better to take up the whole group together. This group consists of the Binjhwar, Birhor, Bhuinhar (Bhuinya) Chero, Kol, Korwa, Kharia, Majhwar, Majhi, Nagesia, Saonta, Saont. They all belong to the Munda or Kolarian racial stock (though most of them have lost their Austric languages). The distribution of this Mundarace covers a very wide area—wider than that of the Gonds. Elsewhere I have given a description of the various Munda dialects which is quoted below,²² as it gives a fair idea of the habitat of these tribes of the Kol group.

"The Munda branch of the Austro-Asiatic family of languages covers a wide area, with its centre at the north-eastern end of the Central India plateau, extending from about 24° Lat. in the Santal Parganas (where Santali is spoken) through the Chhotā Nāgpur hill tracts—Manbhum (where Bhumij is spoken), Ranchi (where Mundari is spoken), Singbhum (where Ho is spoken) and then passes through the Orissa States—Pal Lahera (where Juang is spoken) to about 17° Lat. in the Ganjam and Vizigapatam Agency hill tracts (where Saora is spoken) and from there extending a little to the north-west into Bastar State (where Gadaba is spoken); it seems to disappear in the Central Provinces where the intermediate group of the Dravidian languages (Gondi, Kolami, etc.) and Indo-Aryan languages, (Hindi, Marathi, etc.) reign supreme. Of

²² The *Korwas of the Udaipur State* by M. B. Bhaduri published in *Man in India* Vol. XVII 1937, Pp. 132—136.

course in the foregoing list the Munda dialects which have retained their tribal characteristics more or less are only mentioned.

"Towards the west however the extension of the Munda dialects has not been as unobstructed as in the south. In the west the Mundas of Ranchi are hemmed in by the Oraons of the western part of the Ranchi district and south Palamau; though branches of them radiated in all directions but very few retaining their original tribal language with the exception of the Korwas of Jashpur, Surguja and Udaipur States and the Birhors of Palamau and Hazaribagh with a few stragglers in the States of Jashpur and Udaipur. The Korwas are thus a branch of the Munda of Chhotā Nāgpur who moved westwards into Jashpur State and then further west into Surguja and Udaipur States along the hill ranges both north (from Khuria and Lahsan Pat) and south (Mainpat range) of Surguja up to the Bilaspur district. The other Munda waves of migration further west of Bilaspur district gradually merged with the foreigners and apparently disappeared. The Korwa thus became separated from the Mundas by an impenetrable barrier of Oraons of west Ranchi.

"The other Munda branches which moved southwards are known as Bhuinyas and Savaras in the northern Orissa States of Gangpur, Keonjhar, Bonai etc. (who have lost their tribal languages and speak Oriya). The same Savaras of the Orissa States reappear as Saonrs of the Madras Agency tracts (who retain their tribal language) and as Saonras of the Chhattisgarh Division (with their language lost) and then with considerable gaps through the plains (they were

either pushed out into the hilly tracts or were absorbed by the foreigners) as Savaras and Saharias of western C.P., Saugor and Damoh, northern Malwa and Gwalior, and the Sonr of Bundelkhand.

"Along with the Saonrs and Gadabas of the south the Bonda Parjas of Bastar and Jaipur are also supposed by Dr. Hutton to have had a Munda origin. This hypothesis is supported by the existence of the Bondoma subcaste among the Korkus who are variously called as Bondoyas in the Panchmari tract and Bhovadaya, Bhopa or Bhopchi in Wardha (Russel).

"Two other Munda branches which also moved southwards are known as Kharias and Khairwars who interpenetrate into Gangpur, Jashpur, Sakti, Raigarh, Udaipur and Sarangarh States.....

"The Korkus [from Kora (man) and ku (plural ending)] are another branch of the same race speaking a Munda dialect (with its mixed sub-dialects Muasi and Nihali—half Korku and half Hindi-Marhatti). They live in the Mahadeo hills and Melghat and in the Nimar, Betul, Hoshangabad, Amraoti and Chhindwara districts of the Central Provinces.

"The Kols described by Russel as another primitive tribe allied to the Bhils and inhabiting the western Satpura hills and the Bombay Presidency are supposed to give their name to Colaba and are responsible for the origin of the term Cooli because they were usually employed as porters and carriers in western India. This tribe is also supposed to be a western outpost of the Kol or Munda tribe who intermarried with the Rajputs and were Hinduised. The Talbada Kolis of Gujarat and Kathiawar intermarry with the Rajputs

while the Promara Kolis (who consider themselves to be of pure Rajput descent) do not. The existence of Khangar Kolis in Nimar suggests their Munda origin as there are Khangar Mundas in Ranchi district who are considered as Mundas of a lower status.

"The Kohlis (now Marhatta-speaking) of Bhandara and Chanda districts are also supposed to be an off-shoot of the Kol tribe who migrated from Chhotā Nagpur to Guzarat along the Vindhyan plateau and spread over the hills of Rajputana and Central India (Russel).

"The Kols of the C. P. (Jabbalpore, Mandla and other districts) are evidently of Munda origin and have lost their tribal language.

"Even the Bhils of Central India and Rajputana are said to have 'the basis of their language as Munda with an Aryan superstructure'. The other small tribes having Munda affinities are the Chero, Nagesia, Nagbansi, Majhwar, Majhi, Turi, Mahli, Saonta, Baiga, Binjhia etc. and perhaps the Pandos of Udaipur State, scattered all over Chhotā Nāgpur and the States of the Central Provinces and of the Eastern States Agency".

17. Out of these tribes, I should say something in particular about the distribution of the Nagesias (including the Nagbansi), the Majhwar (including the Majhis), and the Pandos. The Nagesias are found only in Surguja, Jashpur, Udaipur and Raigarh States, (Sakti and Bilaspur are left out of account because their number is negligible there). Similarly the Majhwars are found only in Bilaspur district,

Udaipur and Surguja (Sakti, Raigarh and Saranggarh are left out of account because their number is negligible). The Pandos are found only in the Udaipur and Surguja States.

18. The fact that so many of the tribes of the Kol group are found in the Udaipur State, and the existence of the Pandos, Majhwars (including the Majhis) and the Nagesias (including the Nagbansis) almost exclusively in Udaipur and Surguja States, indicate that this region is one of the oldest sites of the settlement of the different tribes of the Munda race in prehistoric times—earlier than the migrations of the tribes of the Dravidian linguistic family towards the north, and the cultural characteristics of the aboriginal tribes of Udaipur (whether of the Dravidian-speaking or of the Munda-speaking group) are the result of a mixture of the culture of these two different races, in various proportions, dominated by the culture of the Aryan races, so far as it could influence these tribes on account of proximity and intercourse.

19. It is therefore relevant to enquire about the ancient geography of the regions inhabited by these peoples in prehistoric times by reference to the ancient books of the Aryans. These regions are now covered by the Central India region (the C. P. and Berar including the Chhattisgarh States), parts of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa (including the Orissa States). The works of Oriental scholars like Pargiter, S. Levi and others in this direction, have much simplified the task. In the Ramayana, we do not find any reference to the different countries and divisions of the Central Indian plateau except that it was one vast forest, the

Dandakāranya, through which Rama passed southwards up to the river Godavari. It was the *Āranya* or forest country where the pioneers of Aryan civilisation, the Rishis, retired for lonely meditation, only to be disturbed in their Yagnas by the Rakshasas (non-Aryans) from time to time. This *Dandakāranya* appears to have extended as far as the eastern coast of Orissa meeting the Mahendra hills of Parasurama fame. The Āranyaka Upanishads owe their name to this. They were the compilation of the Rishis of the Āranya region. The descendants of the Āranya Rishis (such of them as succumbed to the temptation of the joys of a secular life) became a class by themselves in later times. In this connection, we may refer to the fact that the "Jharua" Brahmans, the earliest Brahmans of Sambalpur district, are supposed to derive their name from the nature of country, which was a mass of jungle, which they inhabited. They are also grouped together in a Sabhā which is designated the Brahmapura Āranyak Brāhmaṇ Sabhā. It is related in the Ramayana that Ramchandra in course of his wanderings while in exile in the forests made friends with Guha. Further south, in the Mātanga forest on the sea coast, on the Pampā Sarobar, he accepted the hospitality of a virtuous Savara woman (*Ramayana*, III, 74, 17-34), a non-Aryan chief of Sringaberpur, of the Nishada caste whose hospitality he accepted (II, 50, 32-51). The Savars, a large section of the Munda race, were definitely settled in these forest regions in the age of Ramayana. A subsection of the Savars are called Guha Sahars. Hinduised Savars are called Sahars which word, has been transformed into Sahara—Saharia—Sawra, (and with an infix of ū) Saofir, and

as cooks of the temple of Jagannath, they are called Suār (as if the name is an abbreviation of the Sanskrit word *supakār*). The antiquity of the Savars is also evident from their mention in the *Aitareya Brahmana*, in which they are described as the descendants of Rishi Viswamitra. The said Rishi is the basis of many a myth. In himself he typifies the rebellion of the Kshattriyas caused by the assumption of caste superiority by the Brahmans. He humbled Vaśistha and Gautama Rishis and had attained to the rank of a Brāhmaṇ and acknowledged as such, though a Kshattriya by birth. This Visvamitra Rishi is traditionally associated with the origin of several other tribes closely associated with the Savars. The Bāthudi tribe in Mayurbhanj State (known as Bāhuri or Bāuri in Keonjhar State) has been described by Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy as "a Hinduised branch of the Bhuiñya tribe"²³ (which have such sections among them as Bāthudi Bhuiyas and Sāoñtia Bhuiyas)²⁴; and "the Sāoñtis of Orissa also form of a branch of the great Bhuiya tribe"²⁵. Speaking of the Bāthudis the same author says, "They have come sufficiently under the influence of Hinduism to accept the services of Brāhmaṇ priests at their marriages...and a Brāhmaṇ spiritual superior styled 'Brahmā' whose directions

²³ S. C. Roy's book *The Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa*, Page 33—
The habitat of the Bhuiyas (also known as Bhuinhars) extend along the hill belt of the Orissa States up to the Santal Parganas through Chhotanagpur and in the west through Sambalpur to the Central Provinces and through Chhotanagpur into the Chhotanagpur States. But their strongholds are in Keonjhar, Bonai, Pal Lahara and Gangpur States.

²⁴ *Ibid*, Page 28.

²⁵ *Ibid*, Page 34.

must be followed". The Siddhanta Dambara²⁶ a book of the 16th century written in broken Oriya speaks of the origin of the Bāuris or Bāthudis as follows:—

"From the right side of the Nirākāra sprang the Vipras into existence and from his mouth Viśvamitra, and from this Viśvamitra the Bāuris came into being. The Vipras were, in their turn, divided into seven classes, e. g., Śri, Ratha, Dasa, Miśra, Acharya, Pāni and Pati. All these are mentioned as sons of Vaśistha. From the right side of the Nirākāra also sprang, in full bloom, the goddess Padmālayā, who was married to Viśvamitra. The fruit of this union was a son named Ananta-kandi Bāuri and afterwards Duli Bāuri. It is also said that Duli Bāuri and his descendants studied the Vedas with the Brāhmaṇas who were regarded as their elder brothers. Bayokandi, Paramananda Bhoi, and Radhoasasmal the three descendants of Padmālayā are the Duli Bāuris. Chitrorvashi was the second wife of Viśvamitra, by whom he had three sons, viz., Kuśasarva, Vidhukuśa and Urbakuśa, from whom the Bāuris are descended. Viśvamitra married another wife, viz., Gandhakesī who too blessed him with three sons—Prayaśa, Udyma and Sadhudharma, and these came to be known as Baghutis. Viśvamitra had yet another consort in Vayurekha, who also was the mother of the same number of sons. They were named Jayasarva, Vijayasarva and Vijayaketu and founded the Śavara tribe. These four castes, viz., Duli

²⁶ The text and the translation are from *Modern Buddhism and its Followers in Orissa* by Mr. Nagendra Nath Basu.

Bāuri, Bāuri, Baghuti and Savara came afterwards to be divided into twelve sub-castes".

This makes the Bāthudi a kinsman of the Savara tribe of Orissa, both having been descended from the same traditional ancestor Viśwamitra Rishi. The fact that the Bāhuri or Bāthudis are divided into exogamous septs known by the name "Khili" may perhaps be additional evidence of their common origin with some branches of the Munda tribe.

20. Speaking of the traditional origin of the Kharias Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy states as follows²⁷ :—

"Some old Hill Kharias living on the Dolma hills gave us the names of their first ancestor and ancestress as Sabbar-Burha and Sabbar-Burhi. This would appear to indicate that the Kharias originally formed a branch of the great Savara people. The tradition of the Mayurbhanj Kharias that they are the descendants of Basu Savara lends further support to this conjecture. General Cunningham points out that the Munda-speaking Santals are called Savaras by their neighbours—the Mal Paharias, and he concludes a long chapter on the Savaras as follows :—My conclusion is that in early times where the name of Savara is used, it probably covers all the different divisions of the 'Kols' (that is to say all the Munda tribes as they are now called) who in early Aryan times spread far and wide over the Central Hill Belt of India.

"In *The Mundas and Their Country* and in Mr. B. C. Mazumdar's book on the Aborigines of the High-

²⁷ *The Kharias*, by S. C. Roy Pp. 30—31.

lands of Central India the same view has also been adopted. Mr. Tarak Nath Das at p. 23 of his small monograph entitled *The Wild Kharias of Dhalbhum* (Calcutta University, 1931), describes the tribe as 'The Kharias or Chhabbars as they call themselves'. Evidently it did not strike Mr. Das that the name that he heard mispronounced as Chhabbars was really Sabbara or Savara.

"The Hill Kharias like the present Savara tribe of Orissa have at the present day no language of their own but have adopted the language of their neighbours, namely, Oriya in Mayurbhanj and other Orissa States and Bengali in Singbhumi (Dhalbhum), Bankura and Manbhum. But even these hill Kharias in Bengali-speaking areas still retain some Oriya words in their vocabulary, thereby indicating their migration from Orissa and supporting the tradition of Mayurbhanj having been their centre of dispersion".

21. Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, in his account of the Savaras says as follows²⁸ :—"The Savars are one of the oldest races of Orissa and have been identified with the Suari of Pliny and the Sabaroi of Ptolemy. They themselves say that they were originally a wandering tribe roaming through the hills of Orissa and living on the products of the forest. Legend points to their having been at one time a dominant race. The Dhenkanal State is said to derive its name from an aborigine of the Savar caste named Dhenka Savar, who was in possession of a strip of land upon which the present residence of the chief stands. There

²⁸ Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, *Census Report*, 1911, Vol. V Part. 1
Pages 504—506.

still exists to the west of the Chief's residence a stone, commonly known as the Dhenka Savar Munda. Munda here means a Headman to whose spirit worship is rendered once or twice a year. The first Rajput Raja of Pal Lahara is said to have been selected by the Savars and other tribes as their Chief, and legend relates that he obtained the name of Pal because he was saved during a battle by the Savars hiding him under a heap of straw. The Savars are also intimately connected with the worship of Jagannath. The original image of this deity, according to mythology, was discovered in the land of the Savars where its priest was a Savar fowler named Basu or Viswa Basu.....The Savars are still a tribe of nomad hunters. They worship the bow and have one peculiarity in its use. They draw the string with the fore-finger and the middle finger and never use the thumb.....Perhaps the most interesting section of the old Savar race consists of the Suars of Puri who claim to be descendants of Viswa Basu the Savar priest of Jagannath. They are no longer Jagannath's priests but his cooks, for they cook the rice offered to the God which thereby becomes Mahaprasād and may be partaken of by high and low castes together. Hindu ingenuity derives their name from the Sanskrit 'Supakara'. Another name used by them is Daita or Daitapati or the left hand of Jagannath whereas others are descendants of Basu who represented his right hand.....The Kalapithia i. e. black-backed Savars are chiefly found in Puri and pull Jagannath's car at the festival".

22. The peculiar custom, mentioned above, of the Savaras of not using their thumb in using the bows

and arrows, has its traditional origin recorded in the *Mahābhārata*. The story related is that the Nishada (hunter or fowler caste) prince Ekalabya approached Drona and asked him to teach him archery as he had been teaching the Kaurava and Pandava princes, but Drona discarded him as being of low origin. Nothing daunted, Ekalabya retired to the forests and made an image of Drona and began to practise archery in front of the image as his Guru. Sometime afterwards, Drona happened to meet him and was astonished to find Ekalabya's skill in archery and asked him where he had learnt the art. Ekalabya replied that his teacher was Drona himself and he related how he had been practising archery in front of the image of Drona. Drona asked him if he really considered him (Drona) as his *guru* and whether he was prepared to give him his *dakshina*. Ekalabya agreed. Then Drona by way of testing his sincerity asked Ekalabya if he was prepared to give away his thumb to his guru. Ekalabya without a moment's hesitation cut off his thumb and presented it to Drona. This is the traditional origin of the custom of the Savaras not using their thumb in using their bows,—because it was given away to the Guru and could not be used. (*Mahabharata* I, 132, 30—60).

23. From the foregoing observations it would not be unreasonable to conclude that the Savaras (loosely used for all the different divisions of the Kol or Munda tribes distributed in Eastern, Central and Western India under various names Savara, Sahara, Saharia, Saonrs etc.) were the dominant race in India in pre-

historic times who came in contact with the Aryans, and some of the greatest of the Aryans such as the Viswamitra clan had marriage alliances with them. This is the reason why (when in the age of the Mahabharata, their countries or the countries under their influence, had acquired separate and distinct names in Aryan geography) the country of their habitations Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Pundra and Sumha had acquired a bad reputation as (impure countries) in the eyes of the orthodox Aryans and to stamp these countries as permanently bad; Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Pundra and Sumha were described as born of the union of Rishi Dhirghatama (means 'enveloped long in *tamas*' or darkness of ignorance) with Queen Sudesnā by the system of Niyoga. (*Mahabharata*, I, 104). But this mention of the disreputable origin of these countries in the Mahabharata appears to be only old traditional reminiscences of the early Aryans, for we find that in the age of the Mahabharata the custom of 'Niyoga' was no longer a despised non-Aryan custom. The Kauravas and the Pandavas were born of Rishi Vyasa by this process of Niyoga. Rishi Vyasa called Krishna Dvaipayana (i. e. black-coloured and born on an island) the compiler of the Mahabharata was the son of Rishi Parāsara by Matsyagandha the virgin daughter of the Dasa King of the fisherman or Kewat caste ('Kaivarta' in Bengal). [*Mahabharata*, I, 105, 5—16] The birth-place of Rishi Vyasa is said to an island at the confluence of the two rivers Sankh and South Koel, near Panposh (on the Bengal Nagpur Railway and within the Gangpur State) which then flows as the Brāhmaṇi river. A very big fair is held here on the Sivaratri day in honour of Rishi Vyasa. Rishi Vyasa

rose above criticism and was honoured as a great Aryan Rishi but there is a class of Brahmans who are called Parāsari (of the Parāsar gotra) in south-west Bengal bordering on Orissa and also in Orissa, who are looked down upon as of a lower status. As regards the Kewat or Kaivartas, they were once very powerful and for a time ruled in north Bengal and south-west Bengal. At present the Kewats are widely distributed in the Orissa as well as C. P. States; hence the story of Matsyagandhā as being the daughter of a Dasā King, and her marriage with the Aryan king Santanu (after Vyasa had been born) is not altogether a myth, but is founded on facts showing the cultural and social contact between the Aryans and the Pre-Aryan tribes. This also accounts for the fact that the same Mahabharata extols some of these countries in other places. Anga, Magadha and Kalinga are described as countries the people of which are versed in Dharma²⁹ (religion). The intercourse between the Aryan and the Munda and the Dravidian tribes is also proved by the fact that there is mention in the Mahabharata (VI, 56, 2410) of the Mundas and the Kārushas (i.e. the people of the Kārusha country) fighting on the side of the Kauravas against the Pandavas. According to Pargiter the Karusha country is the region south of Kasi and Vatsa and between Chedi and Magadh, that is roughly the present districts of Shahabad, Gaya, Palamau, parts of Mirzapur and Surguja. Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy in his book on the Oraons has described the Kārusha Desh as the habitat

²⁹ *Mahabharata, Karna Parva*, Chapter 45.

of the Oraons³⁰ before they migrated southwards into Chhotā Nāgpur—the country of the Munda.

24. The some author in describing the traditional legend as to the origin of the Oraons has identified the Oraons with the Vānara followers of the Aryan hero Ramchandra³¹. These Vānaras had their original habitat in south India, Kishkindhya, and having come in contact with Aryans of northern India, they gradually filtrated through Central India and finally settled in Karusha-desa and gradually moved southwards till they were fixed in the country in which they are now found. The Karusha-desa “was successively dominated and ruled by the Oraons, the Kharwars, the Bhars, three Rajput brothers, the Cheros (twice) and the Savaras. As late as in Asoka’s time (271—231 B. C.), Shahabad was only nominally included in the Aryan Kingdom of Magadha”³².

25. Pundra has been identified by Mr. Pargiter as the country bounded on the north by Kasi, on the north-east and east by Anga, Vanga and Sumha, and on the south east by Odra³³. This is the present

³⁰ R. B. S. C. Roy’s *The Oraons*, Page 29—Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy considers the mention of the Karushas taking part in the Mahabharata War as an interpolation but mentions no reason for the assumption.

³¹ *Ibid*, Page 19.

³² *Ibid*, Page 32—339 quoting Dr. Buchanan’s *Eastern India*, Vol. 1 P. 405—407.

³³ Odra.—This is the north-eastern part of Kalinga which at one time included part of south Midnapur and part of Singbhum and from which the name Orissa is derived. Sylvain Levi, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, (translation by Bagchi) Pages 82—84.

country of Chhotā Nāgpur comprising the districts of Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Manbhum and Singbhum with an extended fringe in the west into Palamau and part of some Orissa States (Mayurbhanj Keonjhar, Gangpur and Bonai). The inhabitants of Pundra—the Mundas, as stated above, took part in the Mahabharata War. West of Pundra and Kārusha are the countries of the Chedi and Park Kosala. There is no mention in the Ramayana about these divisions of the countries; there was only one Kosala, namely north Kosala, (Oudh) associated with Videha (Mithila or the present Tirhut Division). Gradually, probably by extension of territories, another part of Kosala (East Kosala) came into existence at the time of the Mahabharata. Sahadeva conquered it (II, 31, 1120). Later on in the middle ages, South Kosala or Maha Kosala came into being. This south Kosala “extends on one side up to Berar and Orissa and on the other up to Bastar. The region of Chhattisgarh along the upper course of the Mahanadi is its nucleus”³⁴.

26. This Park Kosala then evidently lay between Pundra and the Chedi Kingdom of the Mahabharata period and comprised the region of the five Chhotā Nagpur States of Jashpur, Udaipur, Surguja, Korea and Changbhakar and part of the Chhattisgarh division which touches Kalinga in the south-east. We know that at the time of the Mahabharata War, Sisupāla was the ruler of the Chedi Kingdom. He was a close relation of Krishna and belonged to the Yadava clan, being son of Dama Ghosh. The Chedis

³⁴ *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian*, by Sylvain Levi, translated by Bagchi (Calcutta University publication) P. 64.

appear to have extended their influence up to the Narbada valley in the west and Bilaspur³⁵ in the south, and it may not be improbable that the traditional origin of the rulers of Surguja from the Yadava clan had something to do with the Yadava rulers of Chedi of the Mahabharata age.

27. Anga of the Mahabharata age comprised the present districts of Monghyr (called Modagiri in the Mahabharata) and Bhagalpur below which is the district of the Santal Parganas with the Rajmahal hills—the stronghold of the Santals and the Mal Paharias (congeners of the Oraons).

28. Vanga of the Mahabharata age was, along with Anga, Kalinga, Magadha and Sumha, a country of evil reputation among the Aryans. Nilkantha, the commentator of the Mahabharata, identified Sumha of the Mahabharata with the Rāgh country or the country to the west of the Ganges extending up to Odisha, i. e. the districts of Birbhum and Burdwan and Midnapur. The remaining parts of eastern Bengal minus its southern portion which must have been a submerged delta region at the time of the Mahabharata (which later on acquired the name of Samatata) and minus its eastern portion which was within Kamrupa or Pragjyotish, was the Vanga of the Mahabharata period.

³⁵ "In Chhattisgarh another Haihaya Rajput dynasty, perhaps akin to the rulers of Chedi, established itself at Ratanpur and extended its authority over the greater part of the territory included in the present districts of Raipur and Bilaspur" *The Central Provinces Gazetteer* quoted in Vol. XII Part I, *Census Report*, 1931 (C. P. and Berar). Pages 348—49.

29. Kamarupa or Pragjyotish (modern Assam) a stronghold of the tribes of the Mon-Khmer branch of the Austro-Asiatic linguistic sub-family was another country which joined the Mahabharata War under its King Bhagadatta. This Kamrupa was once a very powerful kingdom and its kings once ruled over a large tract of even Vanga, Kalinga and Kosala. The inscriptions of Jayadeva II, found in Nepal,³⁶ describes him as marrying Rajyamati daughter of Harshadeva the ruler of Gauṛ—Odra—Kalinga—Kosala. At one time the whole of Bengal used to be designated by the single word Gauṛ which was really the capital of the Kings of Bengal; in the district of Malda in north Bengal, because the Kings of Gauṛ were then the rulers of the whole of Bengal as well as of the outlying countries. At the time of Yuanchwang the name Sumha does not appear as a part of Bengal Yuanchwang divided eastern India into the following countries—Magadha, Eireen, Champa, Kajargala, Pundrabardhan (Gauṛ), Kamarupa, Samatata, Tamralipti, Karnasuvarna, and Odra. It would appear that Bengal was then divided into four countries Pundrabardhana, Samatata, Tamralipti and Karnasubarna. Harshadeva of the Nepal inscription had united Gouṛ (Bengal), Odra (N. Orissa), Kalinga (S. Orissa) and Kosala (Chhattisgarh)—all contiguous countries—under one sway, and thus swept away the different divisions of Bengal which merged into one name Gauṛ.

30. West of the Chedi kingdom lay the Vatsa kingdom (mentioned in the Mahabharata) with its

³⁶ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX. P. 178,

capital Kaushambi (modern Kosam on the river Jumna in Allahabad district). About 250 miles south-west of this was Vidisha (modern Besnagar near Bhilsa) the chief city of Dasarna³⁷ (also mentioned in the Mahabharata). The border peoples of Asoka's empire, in the south, were the Rashtrikas (of the Mahratta country) beyond Avanti (Ujjain) where Asoka had a viceroy), the Bhojas of Bidarva (Berar), the Petenikas (of Aurangabad) and the Pulindas and the Andhras³⁸.

31. The problem as to who these Pulindas³⁹ were and what region they inhabited has been discussed in detail by Prof. Sylvain Levi in his *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*. They are variously described as 'Nichakula' (barbarian), 'Mlechhas', as, born of the foam thrown off by the cow of Vaśistha, (l.175, 6685 Mahabharata); and the graphic description of the Pulinda Chief contained in Brihatkatha Śloka Sangraha, VIII, 31, quoted by the Professor, leaves no doubt that these Pulindas were no other than a section of the Kol race who are at present known as Korkus, Saharias etc. in west C. P. and Central India. Prof. Sylvain Levi locates the Pulinda country in the hills of Satpura, the Vindhya and the Aravalli, following Ptolemy. In the Mahabharata it is mentioned that Bhima in his conquests marched on Pāñchāla, Videha, and then turned towards Dasarna and, further south, found Pulinda and then went eastwards to Chedi of

³⁷ Rapson's *Cambridge History of India*, Page 522—23.

³⁸ Rapson, *Cambridge History of India* Chapter XXI P. 512—15.

³⁹ Translation by Bagchi (Calcutta University publication pp. 88—91).

Sisupala⁴⁰. Then after conquering Magadha and Anga, Bhima proceeded to Pundra and then to Vanga, Tamralipti and Sumha and went as far as Louhitya (Assam)⁴¹.

32. The description is completed by a reference to the southern countries. Andhra was well known at the time of the Mahabharata. The Harivamsa in describing the race of Yayati and his sons Yadu and Turbasu, names four sons of Akrija (ninth in descent from Turbasu) as Pandya, Kerala, Kola and Chola. Pandya, Kerala, Chola are well-known divisions of southern India and Kola I think refers to the country of the Kol tribes living in the Madras Agency, the Savaras and the Gadabas. In the Mahabharata there is mention of 'Kollagiri' as a southern country⁴² and possibly this refers to the same country.

33. In the same way as the earlier Aryans tried to infuse their culture among the Pre-Aryans of the above countries, in later times the Jains and Buddhists—

⁴⁰ "Tato dakshinamagamya Pulinda nagaram mahat. Sukumaram base chakre Sumitramcha naradhipa. (II, 29 slokas 9—11. *Mahabharata*).

⁴¹ "Tato modagirouchaiba Rajanam balabattaram. Pandavo vahu veerjena nijaghana mahamrnidhe. Tatah Pundradhipam veeram Busudevam mahabalam. Koushiki kachha nilayam raja nancha mahouyasham. Oobhou balavritou veerabubhau teevra parakramou. Neerjitajou maharaja Vangarajamupadravat". *Mahabharata II*, 30, slokas, 20—23.

⁴² M. B. *Asvamedha Parbha*, 83, 10—12. "Architah prayajau bhuyo dakshinam salilarnavam. Tatrapi Dravirandhraishcha roudrairmahishakairapi. Tatha kollagireyashcha yuddhamasit kiritinah",

heretics from the orthodox Aryan churches—found a good breeding-ground for their culture seeds in these countries. Of course, the Jains and Buddhists were not altogether opposed to Brahmanism⁴³. The Bauddhas and the Tirthankaras were well versed in the Vedas and Brahnavidya⁴⁴. But they incurred the displeasure of the orthodox churches, by their antagonism to the caste system. The 23rd Tirthankar, Parsvanath, spread his 'Chāturyāma dharma' in and around Pundra (eastern Chhotā-Nāgpur) and Sumha (S. W. Bengal). There are many remains of very ancient relics of Jaina sculpture in the Manbhum district. Even in S.E. Ranchi, near village Tarai there is a very old Jaina temple. Of the influence of Jaina and Budhistic cultures in Utkala and Kalinga (including the territories comprising the Orissa States) there are indisputable proofs. Anga (Champa) and Magadha were the strongholds of the Buddhists and Jains. Pali and Brahmi scripts used in the inscriptions of Sakti and Surguja and the cave-monasteries in Surguja and Changbhakar much like the Jaina caves of Khandagiri, point to their probable Buddhistic origin. The Sanchi (near Bhilsa) and the Bharhut stupas in the Pulinda country also indicate the once considerable Buddhist influence in those countries.

34. Yuanchwang (629 A. D.) tells us that there were 10,000 Sangharamas with hundred thousand Bhiksus in Bengal. The biggest Budhist monastery was at Vikramasila whence missionaries went to far

⁴³ "Of all the Yagnas the Agniyagna is the chief; of all the Veda mantras the shavriti mantra is the chief". (*Mahabagga*, 6, 35, 8).

⁴⁴ *Jaina Kalpa Sutra* and *Lalitavistara*.

distant countries, and Bengali Buddhist missionaries were well known for their learning in Nepal, Tibet, Ceylon and other places. Gradually Brahmanism got the upper hand and Buddhism declined and maintained a precarious existence among a section who were relegated to a lower status in society—the Yogis and Nathas and other castes of S. W. Bengal worshipping Dharma to this day.

35. As in Bengal, Buddhism and Jainism had spread widely in the whole of Orissa, and was the Orissan State religion in the beginning of the Christian era. Up to the time of King Prataparudra Deba (16th century) Buddhism was the prevailing creed of Orissa. His persecutions placed the Buddhists under a ban and anathema and they lost their status but Buddhism had left its indelible stamp on the culture of the people inhabiting Orissa.

36. In a future study of the aboriginal tribes of the Udaipur State it will be my endeavour to trace how far their manners, customs and religious beliefs (as we find them at present) have been influenced by contact with each of the two groups (the Kol group and the Dravidian group) as well as by contact with the Aryans with their successive waves of Brāhmaṇ, Jaina and Budhistic cultures, and also, how far the Aryans of these countries were affected as regards their manners, customs and religious beliefs, by these Pre-Aryan races.

III. GAMES, SPORTS, AND PASTIMES IN PREHISTORIC INDIA.

By

T. R. PADMANABHACHARI, M. A.

The conception of history has changed from a dry-as-dust catalogue of kings and courtiers, or a chronological list of bloody battles, to a chapter of the 'Science of Man', dealing with the evolution of social and cultural ideas and institutions of the great human race. In the words of Ward, history now is "the study of the creature man, considered as a material object and great group of individuals possessing many qualities. First, this being has to be described (ethnography) and subdivided into different races (ethnology), and then special attention has to be given to his physical constitution (somatology), and also to what he produces (technology). Closely associated with this last, and indeed an important part of it, is the search for the record he has left, consisting exclusively of such products belonging to past periods as have resisted or escaped destruction. This is Archaeology. But many of his productions are not material and consist of institutions of various kinds. Using this term in a broad sense, the institutions embrace language, customs, governments, religions, industries, and ultimately art and literature. The study of these constitutes real history as distinguished from the mere "*histoire battaile*". This change of outlook towards History is due to new discoveries of the last century. As Dussaud says, "It is the glorious achievement of the 19th century to have pierced beyond the limits of

history and to have found vestiges of human activity anterior to all written record, in a word, to have constituted 'Prehistory'. It has brought into being new methods, which nobody denies at the present day, and utilises the data furnished by geology, ethnography and archaeology". And as remarked by Holmes, "Prehistory signifies merely pre-written history. Since history must be regarded as embracing the entire record of the race, whatsoever form it may take, there can in reality be no such thing as 'Prehistoric period' or 'Prehistoric Archaeology'. The beginning of written record is not the end of unwritten record either for the race as a whole or for any of the groups".

Human life and human institutions can be better understood by—and indeed cannot be thoroughly understood at all without—a study of the life of primitive peoples including even their pastimes, the games they played, the sports they engaged in.... "Play patterns are an integral part of all human cultures wherever mankind is found and in whatever state of advancement the culture may be. A study of the play of primitive peoples will throw much needed light on the nature of the play tendencies of mankind as a whole". Moreover, a study of games and sports will reveal to us the nature and extent of civilisation of the race; and it is the purpose of this essay to study the sports and pastimes of pre-historic Indian people and the light thrown by them on the civilisation and culture of that period.

"Play is universal. Play is life, and wherever life is found there is sure to be play in some form or other. Birds sing, kittens chase each other, and the young

foxes wrestle and pounce upon one another. All over the civilised globe girls play with dolls, boys wrestle, and older people dance and otherwise disport themselves". "Pictured in the earliest records, standing on the far horizon of history, the children appear and play, even as to-day they are playing, and much the same games. All down the ages, whether on the hill-top or in the city streets, in the sunlit meadow or in the slime of the gutter, everywhere the child and play have seemed to go together". Play is thus an integral part of the phenomenon of life, which cannot be easily explained. Several theories have been propounded as to the origin and fundamental nature of the play activity but none of them adequately explains the phenomenon. The earliest and the simplest of these was propounded by Schiller, who defined play as "the aimless expenditure of exuberent energy", and further observed : "When the lion is not tormented by hunger, and when no wild beast challenges him to fight, his unemployed energy creates an object for himself; full of ardour, he fills the re-echoing desert with his terrible roars and his exuberant force rejoices in itself, showing itself without an object. The insect flits about the sunlight, and it is certainly not the cry of want that makes itself heard in the melodious song of the bird ; there is undeniably freedom in these movements, though it is not emancipation from want in general, but from a determinate external necessity. The animal *works* when privation is the motor of its activity, and it *plays* when the plenitude of force is this motor, when an exuberant life is excited to action". Associated with this Surplus Energy Theory is the name of Spencer. "Excitability is the common characteristic

of all nerve cells, and these are built up by the various stimuli which rain in from the periphery of the body and the various sense organs, until they reach a point of unstable equilibrium, when a discharge becomes necessary, like the action of an intermittent spring!" To Spencer "the love of conquest, so dominant in all creatures because it is so correlative of success in the struggle for existence, gets gratification from a victory in chess in the absence of ruder victories". The idea of play as "an occupation engaged in for recreation, rather than for business or from necessity" is the basis of the Recreation Theory as propounded by Lord Kames. And Professor Lazarus urged everyone to "flee from empty idleness to active recreation in play". The Instinct-Practice Theory as enunciated by Karl Groos of Gorlitz holds "that play was an instinct that came into the world to serve the purpose of education... The animal does not play because it is young, but it rather has a period of infancy in order that it may play, and in that play may be prepared for its life activities". G. Stanley Hall sponsored the Recapitulation Theory which explains play to be the result of biological inheritance. He says, "True play never practises what is *phylogenetically* new... I regard play as the motor habits and spirit of the past of the race, persisting in the present, as rudimentary organs.. In play every mood and movement is instinct with heredity... Thus we rehearse the activities of our ancestors, back we know not how far, and repeat their life work... This is why the heart of youth goes out into play as into nothing else, as if in it man remembered a lost paradise".

Besides these traditional theories of play there is a newer interpretation known as the Self-Expression theory. "Man is an active dynamic creature. Activity is the primary need in life....The physiological and anatomical structure of the organism predisposes it to certain lines of activity. ..The physical fitness of the organism has an effect upon the type of activity it engages in.....The psychological inclinations of the individual predispose him toward certain types of activity... All that is necessary to explain play is the fact that he seeks to live, to use his abilities, to express his personality. The chief need of man is life, self-expression".

Play being inborn in man, it is not merely old but eternal. Excavations in the ruins of Mahenjo-Daro and Harappa reveal toys such as doll and various other trinkets of pottery and metal, revealing that the girls and boys of an ancient and hoary civilisation were wont to play and the adults to engage in artistic effort.

A new page in the proto-history of India was opened by the discovery of the pre-historic site of Mohen-jo-Daro by Rakhal Das Bannerjee. In the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1922-23, he writes,—"Mohen-jo-Daro is the present name of a ruined city which once stood on the banks of the river Indus, when it flowed in an old bed, much to the west of its present course. The ruins of this city lie in the Labdarya Taluka of the Larkana District of Sind. These ruins cover an area of nearly 250 acres. Buildings of four different periods have been found, the latest being of the period of the Kushan King Vasudev who probably reigned in the second

century A.D." "A social condition of the people surprisingly advanced for the age in which they were living" is indicated, among other things, by the remains of a few toys and some other playthings. For organised play evolves into existence only in a society that has reached a certain amount of civilisation. E. B. Tylor says, "It is not quite easy to say whether man in a low savage state ever goes beyond these practical sports, and invents games of mere play. But higher up in civilisation, such games are known from very ancient times". "The play of the earliest prehistoric man was more like the play of animals in nature ; and since all animals play at impromptu and impulsive running, leaping, wrestling, and fighting, these activities were characteristic, especially in the life of children certainly these forms are found among the least advanced of the existing primitives of to-day. Among adults play was of the animal type, such as the satisfaction of the needs of hunger, thirst, sex, finding shelter, waging successful strife against animal and human enemies. Sense gratification in addition to the satisfaction resulting from bodily maintenance, was characteristic ; feasts were great festival occasions ; baths, such as plunge in cold water and the steam bath of the sweat lodge, were for sense gratification as well as cleanliness. When free from the immediate compulsion of self-maintenance, primitive man's time was frequently spent in a play imitation of the hunt and fight which prepared him for greater efficiency in these pursuits. With the increasing ability to appease his wants and otherwise control his environment and freedom, we find the develop-

ment of more varied forms of expression of personality. Hence, organised play, art, dancing and pageantry arose, all of which evidence the evolution of man to a plane decidedly above the animal level".

It is only in lands of plenty like Egypt, Babylonia or the Punjab where the rivers Nile, Euphrates and Indus respectively contribute to the fertility of the soil, that we see the dawn of every recorded civilisation. Where food-supply is large and the procuration easy, the people enjoy an amount of leisure, which always gives an added importance to festive games and sports. These games and sports signify that a certain amount of law and organisation prevailed among the people that took part in it, for, organised play depends for its existence upon certain rules and conventions.

Dr. Mackay, Sir John Marshall, and Mr. Vats realising the importance of toys and other objects of sports have devoted much space and time to a study of the same. "Figurines and toys, for which there is a wide vogue, are of terra-cotta, and shell and faience are freely used, as they are in Sumer and the West generally". It is surmised that wood was also generally used for this purpose, and although no traces have been found of wooden playthings, it is believed that this material must have decayed very quickly in a salty soil like that of Mohen-jo-Daro. Mankind in general is imitative, and children especially imitate the adult activities, both serious and gay. Dr. E. B. Tylor says: "...Play is one of the arts of pleasure. It is doing for the sake of doing, not for what is done. One class of games is spontaneous everywhere, the sports in which children imitate the life they will

afterwards have to act in earnest. Eskimo children play at building snow huts, and their mothers provide them with a bit of wick to set burning inside. Among the savages whose custom it is to carry off their wives by force from neighbouring tribes, the children play at wife-catching, just as with us children play at weddings with a clergyman and bridesmaids. All through civilisation toy weapons and implements furnish at once play and education ; the North-American warrior made his boy a little bow and arrows as soon as he could draw it, and the young South Sea Islander learnt by throwing a reed at a rolling ring how in after-life to hurl his spear. It is curious to see that when growing civilisation has cast aside the practical use of some ancient contrivance, it may still survive as a toy, as where Swiss children to this day play at making fire by the old world plan of drilling one piece of wood into another ; and in our country-lanes the children play with bows and arrows and slings, the serious weapons of their forefathers". The numerous toys and gamesmen speak volumes to the credit of the hoary civilisation of the Indus valley. The pottery cart, the damaged specimens of which have been unearthed in large numbers, are very identical in their design with their modern counterparts in rural Sind. "These little toy-carts are particularly interesting as being among the earliest representations of wheeled vehicles known to us, approximately contemporary, i.e., with the chariot depicted on a stone slab at Ur, and the model of a wagon from Anau". But as observed by Dr. Mackay, "No model which can be said to represent a war-chariot, or anything like it, has yet come to light". A single specimen made of

copper obtained from Harappa proves that the carts of those days resembled the modern *ekka*. Clay-modelling must have been a favourite pastime among the children of that distant past, for miniature animals and figurines are so ill-made, and ought really to have been the handiwork of children. The toys of children consisted of rattles, whistles, clay-models of men and women, animals, birds, carts, and household articles like scales or baking pans etc., and these prove that the game of 'housee' was very popular even then". But "it is a moot point whether many of the animals and human figures in baked clay were not cult objects rather than toys". And it is not easy to say whether the figure of a nursing mother (No. 25—HR6213) was a toy or a funerary or votive object.

An interesting find is the toy bull or cow with a movable head. (Pl. cliii, 39, Marshall). The figures of oxen yoked to toy-carts bear evidence to the fact that they were used for draught purposes (*Ibid.*, Pl. cliii. 24). Curiously enough there are figures of bird-chariots in which the head and horns of a ram are attached to the body and tail of a bird, with holes in the sides, probably for wheels. Figures of monkeys and of women grinding corn also seem to have served as toys for children.

Whistles were common playthings at Mohen-jo-Daro, and they are mostly in the form of birds, provided with stick legs, hollow within, with beaks open and a hole at the back near the tail which, when blown into, produced a shrill noise. Their existence proves that the ancient inhabitants of the 'City of the Dead' were fond of rearing several song-birds as pets. And

the discovery of miniature cages is proof enough that aviaries were common in those distant times. Another favourite toy was an animal climbing a pole, and though the animal has not yet been recognised, the bird is probably a *bulbul*, and it has a pedestal-like base.

The most ingenious of the toys are "figures which ran up and down a string, and whose progress could be accelerated at will by manipulating a cord; ..for some have been found with angular perforations".

Among the other toys of children discovered on the sites of Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa are round pottery rattles with small pellets of clay inside, and model chairs. The former "were probably made by wrapping the clay round a combustible core, in the centre of which the roughly made baked clay pellets were placed to produce the sound". Though hand-made they are yet well-finished. Two model chairs in pottery have been discovered (*Ibid.*, Pl. cliv, 1 and 4). "These chairs perhaps explain the seated position of some of the pottery figures, and we may reasonably conclude that the children of Mohen-jo-Daro were as fond of dolls' parties as is the child of today".

Marbles and dice were very common games, the former among the children and the latter among the adults. The marbles are of agade, onyx, slate or other hard stones and sometimes very beautifully made. Certain ornamented balls made of shell discovered in the court-yard of houses indicate the place where children generally played.

The game of dice has a history of its own in India. Several specimens of both cubical and tabular dice have been found. Though considerably larger than

modern European dice, they are of excellent workmanship. They differ from the modern Indian ones both in shape and in the disposition of their numbers. Oblong in shape, the present-day Indian dice has number 1 opposite to 6, 2 to 5, and 3 to 4. Whereas in the Mahen-jo-Daro dice the numbers are pitted thus: 1 opposite to 2, 3 to 4, 5 to 6. These pottery specimens are much worn out at the edges, but yet must have been used on soft surfaces as they are very fragile. Other materials of which dice are made are faience, pottery, shell, marbles, agate, slate and steatite. The pottery and faience pieces must have been made in a mould. "The tabular dice, which were invariably made of ivory, are marked with the numbers one, two, and three on three sides and have the remaining side ornamented with longitudinal lines. Another method of distinguishing the sides was to incise various patterns on each, or more rarely, hieroglyphic signs whose meaning is, of course, unknown. Mackay is of the opinion that the conical bone pieces (figured in Pl. cxxxii, 19, 20, 22, to 45) which he calls 'casting bones' may have been used in divination as well as in a game of chance, such as throwing a number on the ground together and noting which way they lie. And the fact that no two conical gamesmen of exactly the same size have yet been discovered proves that they could not have been used as dice. There is a dice (Pl. cliii, No. 31—HR4395) which is of paste and is covered with a trefoil design. Dice of tetrahedral forms (Pl. cliii, Nos. 40 and 41) have also been found. The poorer people seem to have used gamesmen made of pieces of potsherd roughly rubbed into a suitable

shape. It is highly probable that besides the throwing of dice constituting a game in itself, the dice were used in combination with 'men' of which a considerable number have been unearthed both at Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa. And perhaps the boards were made of wood, and therefore have perished in the course of ages. But luckily, "a brick found at Mohen-jo-Daro is incised with rectangles in three rows of four, and this was evidently a game board, or perhaps only part of one...One of the squares on this brick is marked with crossed lines which may have denoted a 'home', and if it is assumed that the adjoining end bricks, now missing, were similarly marked and that there were originally ten rows of three, the game played upon them would have resembled the ancient Egyptian game of *Sent*. If, on the other hand, there were originally twenty-six compartments, arranged with twelve in three rows at one end, twelve into rows at the other, and two between, it would resemble a Sumerian board found by Dr. Woolley at Ur. The pavement of a house or courtyard would have been quite a good place on which to mark out a game-board, and many unprofitable hours were no doubt whiled away by the servants who cut this board. Another brick discovered seems to have been marked out for a game that was to be played with pebbles or beans. The four holes which are away from the rows were for containing the forfeited pieces. It is also possible that the board was roughly marked on the ground, "either in the form of squares or small holes scooped out in the dust".

"Throwing lots or dice", says Dr. Tylor, "is far too ancient for any record to remain of its beginning..."

Games which exercise either body or mind have been of high value in civilisation as trainers of man's faculties. Games of pure chance played for money stand on a quite a different footing ; they have been from the first a delusion and a curse". Games of chance arise from the speculative instinct of man. And speculation is also the origin of philosophy as also trade. It marks the acme of human civilisation. Chess or dice symbolises the apogee of the intellectual evolution of man.

It is much easier to reconstruct the nature of some of the sedentary games of the past with the available data, but it is not so in the case of outdoor games. Dancing though a part of rituals must have also had its secular aspect and it is certain that it was followed by music. Two of the amulets bear the figures of elongated drums with skins at the ends. A musical instrument, which is either a tambourine or another variety of a drum, is seen hanging from the neck of one of the pottery statuettes. A pair of castanets used for marking the rhythm of the dance have also been found. And symbols of the harp and the lyre in the script of Mohen-jo-Daro enable us to glean that these musical instruments were in vogue. The most interesting discovery is the bronze figure of a dancing girl (Pl. xciv, 6—8). "It gives a vivid impression of the young aboriginal *nautch* girl, her hand on hips in half-impudent posture, and legs slightly forward, as she beats time to the music with her feet".

Hunting remains as a sport when man has ceased to be a savage, whose sole vocation and livelihood was killing the other denizens of the jungle. Man's re-

creational propensities for hunting are reflected in the pre-historic cave art, which Dechlette calls "the first smile of the infant in the life of humanity". And "art", says Herbert Kuhn, "is the beginning of culture, the beginning of human existence altogether". The subject of most pre-historic cave paintings is the hunting of wild animals. But, as observed by Panchanan Mitra, "it is evident that all these scenes depicted were connected with some sort of magic or totemistic rites". Among the Singanpur rock-paintings is perfectly preserved a scene of the bull-or *sambar*-hunting in which the people are dressed in the conventional masks which, according to Mr. Capitain, was a wide-spread custom in quaternary times. Another scene shows a human figure with arms akimbo near the hunting scene. The paintings are almost all in a red pigment. The most interesting of the cave paintings of Kapgallu (Bellary District) is a hunting scene depicting two men with upraised right arms hurling javelins, and with something like shields on their left arms, proceeding towards a bull. To the same culture horizon belong the series of carvings of Edakal cave in Wynad and those of Maubhandar in Singhbhum District. John Cockburn's discoveries of cave paintings in the Kaimur ranges of the late palaeolithic times have shed much new light on the pre-history of India. "The drawings are executed on vertical rocks and in caves known as rock-shelters. The drawings occur on both the northern and southern scarps of the Kymores, and also on the plateau between, which is formed twenty to thirty miles wide; thus I have seen them near Mirzapur and Chunar, at

Parbhoga and Chitrakot". The first at Mirzapur shows the hunting of a stag with prominent horns. The second (from Lohri) "represents a man beside a feline animal as at Font de Gaume and curiously what the man holds in his hands has been suggested by Vincent Smith to be a torch though it is an unmistakable variety of Palaeolithic harpoon...". The third is from Likhunia rock shelter in the valley of the river Sone, representing a man spearing a hind with a stone spear. "Most of these inaccessible caves form veritable museums of pre-historic antiquities in the way of flint knives, cores, arrow-heads, céltis, fragments of fossils and charred bone, pottery, etc., from which could be made a fine collection, sets from which ought to be sent to every museum in the world". Of the rhinoceros hunt described in the Ghormangar cave Cockburn says,— "A group of six men have attacked a rhinoceros. One of these the animal has tossed with his horns and the position of the man sprawling in the air is comically like the drawings of people tossed. A man wearing an unusually large head plume who is in the rear has tried to draw the animal off by plunging his spear into its hind quarters. His attitude indicates that he has thrown his entire weight into the thrust. In front of the enraged animal are two men, the lower of whom in an attitude highly indicative of action has what appears to be a simple spear of hardened wood with two supplementary barbs levelled at the animal's breast". The animals represented in these hunting scenes are the bear, the tiger, the bison and the elephant.

Utility was the prime motive of the savage's art. "He imitates nature, in dance, song or in plastic art,

for a definite practical purpose. His dances are magical dances, his images are made for a magical purpose, his songs are incantations...Religion has fostered savage representative art". According to Frazer, "hunting and pastoral tribes, as well as agricultural peoples, have been in the habit of killing and eating the beings whom they worship". And the cave paintings perhaps are, in the words of the same authority, only a "particularly striking example of the respect which on the principles of his rude philosophy the savage habitually pays to the animals which he kills". The seal amulets bearing the figures of numerous animals bear ample evidence of animal-worship by the people of the Indus.

That hunting was a pastime among the inhabitants of the Indus valley is known from the amulets on which men are represented as shooting a large antelope and a wild goat with bows and arrows. The bow must have been commonly used, for a large number of copper arrow-heads have been discovered at Mohenjo-Daro. The figures in the pictographic script are armed with arrows. In the amulet of Pl. XCL, no. 24 (Mackay), are three archers shooting arrows at a bull, which may either signify a hunting scene or a skilful game of archery.

Dogs must have been used in the chase, and three different breeds of the animal have been discovered among the models of watch-dogs wearing collars and tied to posts. "A onetime sport in Sind was the worrying of boars by dogs, and since this is also depicted on some very early seals from Elam, there are grounds for assuming that the boar was

hunted in the same way in the Indus valley ; indeed the short-faced dog already described would have been eminently suitable for this purpose'.

The skeletal remains of the animals found are the 'humped bull' or zebu, the buffalo, sheep, elephant, camel, which probably were domesticated by the 'proto-Indians' and the mongoose, the shrew, the black rat, the Kashmir stag, the *sambhar*, the spotted deer., hog-deer, *gaur* or Indian bison, the rhinoceros, tiger, the monkey, the bear and the hare were hunted either for their flesh or for mere game. K. N. Dikshit says that "the ibex heads seen hanging on either side of a *pipal* tree in a well-known seal show that this animal was then hunted". He also observes that the breed of Indian dog was famous enough to have been even exported to Babylon. Of the three species—the bull-dog, the pariah and the mastiff—the last was kept as a pet, and was taken out for hunting the boar, whose tusks, according to Col. Sewell, were much prized.

Riding must have been a favourite pastime, for the broken models of horses prove beyond a shadow of doubt the domestication of the noble animal in the distant past. The fact that people rode on the backs of animals is vouchsafed by seal No. 510 (Mackay) in which is represented a man in six different acrobatic poses over a bull. And as Father Heras observes, "These poses are in no way different from the poses of the acrobats over the bulls of the Minoan period in Crete".

An evidence of a contest of skill is the amulet of pl. XCL, No. 24. (Mackay) in which we see three

archers shooting arrows at a bull. Bull-fights were common in Mohen-jo-Daro. The scenes of men fighting with two animals standing on their hind legs, as seen on seals 75, 85, 122, and 454 (Mackay) are in marked similarity to those of Sumerian and Babylonian seals. A skilful episode that is even now witnessed in the Spanish bull-rings have been anticipated in the amulets No. 4a of pl. PCI and No 11b of pl. XCII, where "the *toreador* has his left foot on one of the horns of the bull, while with his right hand he brandishes a lance and thrusts it into the back of the brute".

It may be inferred from pl. LXXVII. No. 7. that game-cock-fighting was a sport, for the two jungle fowls are portrayed in a remarkably aggressive and fighting attitude. The model dove with outstretched wings set on a little pedestal (pl. LXXI, No. 28) signifies that it was regarded with especial favour in ancient Sind as in Sumer, and dove-flying, in all certainty, and the conveyance of messages through them in some probability, were favourite pastimes. Peacocks were known (pl. LXXVII. No. 21 and 22), and their colourful dances were a source of joy to the spectators, who must have prized the feathers as an ornament.

The pre-historic inhabitants of the Indus-valley had their own fund of aquatic sports. Illustrations of vessels are not rare, and the proximity of a river must have given an impetus to the people for undertaking pleasure cruises. The figure of a ship scratched on a potsherd (pl. LXIX. No. 4) shows that it is lashed together at bow and stern, perhaps indicating

"that it was made of reeds like the primitive boats of Egypt". In this representation, over the bow of the vessel there rises a pole or pike crowned by a zigzagging design. According to Father Heras, "the zigzagging line of Mohen-jo-Daro ship is the very sign of the Mohen-jo-Daro script, meaning 'thunderbolt'.... The thunderbolt seems to be the totem of these ships—a very appropriate device for ships that boasted of speed":

Fishing would not only have been a regular occupation but also a regular sport, in the river as also in the large pools. Quite an enormous number of fish-hooks have been found, and they are all similar in shape. A fish-hook consists of "a straight shank slightly thinned out and turned over to form an eye at the top, and with the hook itself equipped with a single barb". Another common water-sport was duck-shooting.

"It is clear", says Rao Bahadur Dikshit, "that the earliest citizens of India had a scrupulous regard for personal cleanliness and sanitation, and it is probable that the ceremonial regard of the Hindu for a daily bath is descended regularly from the early inhabitant of Sind". The Great Bath, forty feet long and twenty-three wide, approachable by a *ghat* 'of which the treads were recessed at the ends to take wooden planks', must have been immensely suitable for pastimes like diving and swimming. The rooms around the Bath were probably used by the bathers for resting and for changing of their clothes.

The civilisation of the Indus Valley is not an exceptional phenomenon. Recent archaeological exca-

vations reveal the presence of a wide-spread pre-historic civilisation extending from far beyond our frontiers to Aditanallur in the extreme south of India, Rangpur, Kathiawad and a number of other places remain to be published as centres of a hoary past, but by no means primitive, culture. And the role of amusement in human history can hardly be over-emphasised. "Man has never lived by bread alone. Man is nowhere content with a humdrum existence". And verily "life hates monotony but loves rhythm-in-heart-beat, in intestinal contraction, in poetry, music, play". (Dorsey).

Books Consulted :—

- Robert H. Lowie—*An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology.*
 Panchanan Mitra—*Pre-historic India.*
 Mitchell & Mason—*Theory of Play.*
 Curtis—*Education through Play.*
 Frazer—*Golden Bough.*
 Tylor—*Anthropology.*
 „—*Primitive Culture.*
 J. F. Williams—*Principles of Physical Education.*
 K. N. Dikshit—*Pre-historic Civilisation of the Indus Valley.*
 Sir John Marshall—*Mohen-jo-Daro and the Indus Valley Civilisation.*
 Dr. Mackay—*Indus Civilisation.*
 Dr. G. R. Hunter—*Script of Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa.*
 M. S. Vats—*Excavations in Harappa.*

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I. NOTES ON THE ORIGIN OF SOME PLACE-NAMES IN THE JALPAIGURI DISTRICT IN NORTHERN BENGAL.

By

(Late) SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M. A., B. L.

I have stated elsewhere that an enquiry into the origin of place-names is fraught with considerable ethnographic and historical interest. It enables us to find out that the name of a place, no matter whether it is a city, a town or a village, is derived from an interesting legend on the customs of its original inhabitants, or from some remarkable event in the history of that place.

During my three months' stay at Jalpaiguri from the 26th November 1930 to 20th February 1931, I made some enquiries about the origin of the names of a few places in the district of Jalpaiguri in Northern Bengal. I am publishing the results of my enquiries in these few short notes.

I. Origin of the Place-name 'Jalpaiguri'.

The name Jalpaiguri is composed of two words, namely, *Jalpai* which means the "Olive-tree"; while the word *Guri* is a non-Bengali term which means a "*Place or village*". I have enquired from one or two old residents of Jalpaiguri about the meaning of this word. But none of them could give me definite information about it. I am, however, inclined to think that it is a Bhutia word meaning "*place or*

village", for the whole of the district appears to have formed, in very ancient times, a part and parcel of the adjoining kingdom of Bhutan. I have heard from a well-known Bengali lawyer of the town of Jalpaiguri that, occasionally, remains of small brick-built guard houses occupied most likely by the troops of Bhutan are found in some of the tea-gardens. This being so, these tracts were tenanted by the Bhutias as subjects of the Raja of Bhutan. Consequently, the names of the then prominent Bhutiya villagers are still preserved in the names of a few places about which I shall speak presently.

That the place-name Jalpaiguri means "*the place where the olive-trees grow*" is borne out by the following testimony of the official *Gazetteer of Jalpaiguri*. It says : "The town (Jalpaiguri) derives its name from the olive trees which used to exist in some numbers even so late as ten years ago. Many of them were to be seen near the Deputy Commissioner's Cutcherry. But these have all died ; and the only tree left is the one in the compound of the American Baptist Mission" *.

I have already stated above that, to my mind, the suffix "*guri*" is a Bhutia word meaning a "place or village". This is preserved in the names of a few other places in the Jalpaiguri district, as, for instance, (1) Mainguri ; (2) Lataguri ; (3) Dhupguri ; (4) Vina-guri and (5) Siliguri (which is, however, situated in the adjoining district of Darjiling). I am, however,

* *Vide the Gazetteer of Jalpaiguri* by J. F. Gruning, I. C. S., Allahabad : Printed at the Pioneer Press, 1911. Page 150.

inclined to believe that the first parts of the foregoing place-names, namely, Maina, Lata, Dhup, Vina and Sili are the names of prominent Bhutiyas who either founded those villages or resided therein. It is, for this reason, that their names have been preserved in those village-names. Mr. Nirode Kumar Roy, who was, for five years Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector at Darjeeling and who is well up in the Nepalese, the Lepcha and the Tibetan languages, suggests to me that the place-name suffix "*Guri*" may be a corruption of the hill-dialect word "*Gora*", which means "*the base of the hills*" or more properly, "*the place at the base of the hills*". In the light of this interpretation, the place-name Jalpaiguri would mean "*the place at the base of the hill which is overgrown with olive trees*"; Mainaguri would mean "*the place at the base of the hill which was tenanted by the Bhutia Maina*"; and so forth.

Similarly, there are two other places in the Jalpaiguri district which call for a few remarks about the origin of their names. These are Nāgrā-Katā and Gagerkātā. I think that the terminal pastime of these two place-names, namely, *kātā* is a corruption of the Hindi word "*Kothā*" which means a "*building or place of residence*", while the first portions thereof, namely, Nāgrā and Gayer are the names of well-known Bhutia residents of these two places, which have been preserved in these place-names.

II. Origin of the place-name "Rajabhat-khowā".

Rājābhāt khowā is a station on the Eastern Bengal Railway (formerly the Cooch Bihar State Railway).

It is situated to the north of Alipur Dooars which is the head-quarters of the subdivision of that name in the Jalpaiguri district. The name of this place commemorates an event which took place, in the olden times, in the history of the Cooch Bihar State in Northern Bengal.

Tradition says that, in the olden times, the Rājā of the adjoining kingdom of Bhutan invaded the dominions of the Rājā of Cooch Bihar. After having defeated the latter, the former made the latter a captive and took him to his own kingdom. As the Rājā of Bhutan was a Buddhist and, as such, was considered to be a *Mlechha*; the Rājā of Cooch Bihar, who had become Hinduized, did not partake of any cooked rice (*bhat*) while staying as a captive in Bhutan. Either the troops of Cooch Bihar defeated the Rājā of Bhutan and released their own Rājā and brought him back to his own country; or the Rājā of Cooch Bihar was ransomed by his own subjects and brought back to Cooch Bihar. While returning to his own capital, the Rājā of Cooch Bihar, for the first time after his release from captivity, partook of cooked rice (*bhat*) at the place where the village bearing the name of "Rājābhātkhowā" stands. Its name signifies "the place where the Rājā partook of cooked rice (*bhat*)". Thus the name of this small place records the reminiscence of an important event in the history of the Cooch Bihar State.

II. A NOTE ON GHOST-LORE FROM THE JALPAIGURI DISTRICT IN NORTHERN BENGAL.

By

(*Late*) SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M. A., B. L.

There is current all over the world a belief to the effect that the disembodied spirits or ghosts of persons who have come by their deaths by violent means, or whose funeral obsequies have not been fulfilled, wander about aimlessly. Though they long for rest, yet rest they cannot find. On this point, Miss C. S. Burne says:—"The wandering ghosts of Europe are usually the souls of suicides, murderers, and the victims of murderers ; or persons who have left worldly business unfinished—pledges unredeemed, debts unpaid, heirs defrauded, treasures concealed ; things which prevent them from "resting quietly in their graves" ; as the folk put it—albeit no form of creed known to Christendom countenances belief in the residence of the departed soul in the grave. But the cardinal reason for the return of the ghost, all the world over, is the omission of the funeral rites. We are all familiar with the "Grecian ghosts that in battle were slain and unburied remain" to return again as furies. Mr. Crooke narrates a story, told to him quite curiously, of a man who, on revisiting his wife after a long absence found her and her family living in the house in the form of *bhūts* or malignant spirits. His father-in-law had died first, and there being no one to perform his funeral rites, he had become a *bhūt*, and had killed the women one by one, so that they might wait upon him

and prevent him from living as junior *bhūt* to some the *bhūts* senior to himself. The only peculiarities about them were that they spoke in nasal voices and avoided tending fire, metal, or salt. They were about to kill him, but, advised by the *bhūt* of his wife, he escaped, carrying a brass cup of water in his hand for protection. He then performed the funeral rites after which the *pipal* (sacred fig) tree in the court yard fell down; by which he knew that the *bhūts* had been released and enabled to go to heaven' *.

I came across a striking illustration of the foregoing belief during my three months' stay at Jalpaiguri from the 26th November 1930 to 20th February 1931. I came to know that there were the remains of an ancient fortified town named Bhitargarh which, in very olden times, belonged to a king named Rājā Prithu. These remains, which have now dwindled to the size of an insignificant village named Bhitargarh, are situated at a distance of about 12 or 13 miles to north of the town of Jalpaiguri. Owing to my sudden illness, I could not pay a visit to these interesting remais. I further came to learn that, probably sometime during the 9th century A.D., Rājā Prithu's kingdom was invaded by a tribe of barbarians named the Kichaks who were non-Hindus. Very likely, these Kichaks were no other than the Bhutiyas or some other Mongoloid tribe whose touch was considered to be polluting by the Hindus of those far-off days. In order to escape from pollution which might be caused by coming in contact with the

* *Vide The Hand-book of Folklore* By C. S. Burne. London: (Silgaide and Jaekson, Ltd. 1914). Pages 81—82.

Kichaks, Rājā Prithu committed suicide by throwing himself into a tank within the precincts of his palace. The tank still exists ; and the villagers, who live in the neighbourhood of the tank, still say that the ghost or spirit of Rājā Prithu who committed suicide even now haunts the trees and bushes that grow on the margin of this tank.

On the foregoing subject, the author of *The Gazetteer of Jalpaiguri* says :—“The ruins of an ancient city (Bhitargarh) are situated in 26°—27' and 88°—37' east. The city was composed of four separate enclosures the innermost being the palace of Prithu Rājā whose date is unknown, but who probably preceded the Pāla Dynesty of the 9th century A. D. It occupies a considerable area and must have been, in old days, a large and strong fortification ; it is surrounded by moats, the water to fill one of which was obtained from the Talma River on the west. The citadel contains a large tank, with the remains of 10 masonry ghats. Prithu Rājā is said to have drowned himself in this tank in order to avoid pollution from the touch of the Kichaks, an impure tribe of gypsies who had invaded his country. His spirit is still believed to dwell in some trees and bushes which grow on the tank adjoining the palace”*.

* *Vide The Gazetteer of Jalpaiguri* By J. F. Gruning, Allahabad ; Printed at the Pioneer Press, 1911. Page 145.

INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In *Man* for January-February, 1941, there appeared a note (correspondence) on "The meaning of the Cowrie: stylized Cowrie pendants" from the Near East.

In *Man* for March-April, 1941, there are two notes (correspondence) on "The Meaning of the Cowrie: The Evil Eye in Nigeria", and "The meaning of the Cowrie: Fiji, Egypt, and Saxon England". In the next number of "*Man in India*", will be published an article by Mr. Verrier Elwin on "The Meaning of the Cowrie in Bastar", which briefly summarises the other main views on the question which have been so far proposed.

In *Folk-Lore* for March, 1940, appears Prof. J. H. Hutton's Presidential Address to the Folklore Society of London in 1940, on "Wolf-Children". Among other accounts of Wolf-Children in different parts of the world, some instances of Wolf-Children known in India are cited.

In *Science and Culture* for July, 1941, Prof. S. P. Ray Chaudhuri gives "A Short Account of the Agricultural Methods practised in Ancient India", as gleaned from archaeological (prehistoric) and literary evidences (Vedas, Smritis and the Purāṇas).

The *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, 1939-40, contains the following, among other, interesting articles: "The Buddhistic Conception of Dharma" by Dr. P. T. Raju; "Ancient Indian

Tribes" by Dr. B. C. Law ; "Paget's Gesture-Theory of the Origin of Human Speech" by C. R. Sankaran ; "Side-lights on the Racial Origin of Nambudri Brāhmans" by K. R. Chatterjee who concludes that the Nambudris are "racially a branch of the Indo-Aryan family".

Indian Culture for October-December, 1940, contains among other articles, one on Ancient Indian Geography from Tibetan Blo. re. wa. S., by Dr. S. C. Sarkar ; another on "Some Ancient Indian Tribes" by Dr. B. C. Law.

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for December, 1940, Dr. N. K. Dutt contributes an article on "The Vaiśyas of Mediaeval Bengal".

The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, issued May, 1941, contains an article on "Survivals of the Indus Culture" by M. E. and D. H. Gordon, and another on "The Ancient Workers of Western Dhalbhum" by E. F. O. Murray.

In the *Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, no. 2 for 1940, appears the concluding portion of the article on "Educational Samskāras of the Hindus" by Dr. Raj Bali Pandey.

In the *Modern Review* for June, 1941, appears an article on "The Religious Education of India" by 'Indo-European', and another on "The Vitality and Persistence of Indian Culture" by Sukumar Chatterji.

The *New Review* for April, 1941, contains an interesting article on "Indian Concepts of the Eternal" by Betty Heimann.

The *Journal of the University of Bombay* for January, 1941, contains an article on "Hindu Tradition and Islamic Culture in Javanese Civilisation" by F. Vereede, and another on "Folk-songs from Marwar" by Dr. G. R. Pradhan.

The *Journal of the Annamalai University* for March, 1941, contains a further instalment of Mr. M. Vridhagirisan's monograph on the "The Nayaks of Tanjore".

In the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* for June, 1941, Mr. C. R. Sankaran contributes a paper entitled "Dravidian Notes"; Mr. V. M. Apte a paper on "Rig-Vedic Studies"; and Mr. C. S. Venkateswaran a paper on "The 'Cosmic House' in the Rig-Veda".

Obituary Notices.

It is with profound sorrow that we have to record the passing away at the age of 87 of **SIR JAMES G. FRAZER**, one of the brilliant lights in the field of Anthropology.

Born in Glasgow on January 1, 1854, he was educated in the Glasgow University and Trinity College, Cambridge, of which College he was elected a Fellow in 1879. Though called to the Bar he never entered the active practice of Law, but dedicated his time and energies entirely to literary and scientific (anthropological) work.

In 1887 he published a small volume entitled *Totemism*, and in 1910 he brought out four bulky volumes entitled *Totemism and Exogamy* in which all available materials on the subject were summarized and marshalled with his wonted skill. His writings are characterized by vast erudition, charming eloquence, and remarkable mastery over details. Among his numerous eloquent writings are such books of first-rate importance as *The Golden Bough* in twelve volumes; *The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead*, (1913); *Folklore in the Old Testament*, (1918); *The Worship of Nature*, (1926).

The four bulky volumes of his latest work *Anthologia Anthropologica* (1938-1939) give us some insight into the immense pains and untiring patience, perseverance and assiduity with which James Frazer equipped himself for his life's work.

We have also to record with deep regret the death on July 6, 1940, of the distinguished American anthropologist **ALEXANDER A. GOLDENWEISER**. Born at Kiev in Russia in 1880, he went to the United States in 1900, attended the Columbia University, where later (from 1900 to 1919) he acted as Instructor of Anthropology. From 1919-1926 he

conducted anthropological researches at the New School of Social Research. He also worked in other American and English institutions.

His book *Early Civilization*, published in 1922, secured him an assured place in the Science of Social Anthropology. In 1933, he brought out his remarkable work entitled *History, Psychology and Culture*, and in 1937 another valuable work *Anthropology : An Introduction to Primitive Culture*. In his rather premature death, the Science of Social Anthropology has lost an eminent and indefatigable worker of outstanding ability.

The study of Indian Linguistics has suffered an irreparable loss in the death on the 8th March last, at the ripe old of age 90, of **SIR GEORGE ABRAHAM GRIERSON**, the famous author of the monumental *Linguistic Survey of India* and of *Bihar Peasant Life*, and the editor of a *Kashmiri Dictionary*. Born on the 7th January, 1851, he came out to India in his 23rd year as a member of the Indian Civil Service and was not long in devoting himself whole-heartedly to the study of Indology to which he had been already introduced while in England. His pioneer services to Indian Linguistics have been adequately recognised in Europe where several Universities conferred on him Honorary Doctorates, and several learned societies conferred Honorary Fellowships. He was awarded the Order of Merit in 1928, and several other high Government honours and academic distinctions.

The literary world in general and India in particular mourns the loss of the world-famous poet and literature, philosopher and ardent lover of humanity, **Dr. RABINDRA NATH TAGORE**. Born on May 7, 1861, he died on August 7, 1941.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Anthropology and Sociology.

The Culture Historical Method of Ethnology: The Scientific Approach to the Racial Question. By Wilhelm Schmidt. Translated by S. A. Sieber. (Fortuny's. New York.) Pp. XXX+383. \$5.00.

It was Graebner who in his famous work *Die Methode der Ethnologie* (*The Method of Ethnology*) introduced the 'culture historical method' for the first time. That book evoked a good deal of criticism from ethnologists of different schools. Father Schmidt is inclined to put down most of those criticisms to a misunderstanding of the culture historical method, and the faulty exposition and obscure language of Graebner's exposition. Accordingly Father Schmidt undertook the present "revised exposition" as the need for it "has long been felt, because the treatise of Graebner, which is sometimes over-concise, too replete with overlapping steps in the development of the argument and not infrequently obscure, [and] is difficult even for German-speaking people to follow". Dr. Clyde Kluckhohn in his Preface to the book, says of it, "There is a diligent exegesis of Graebner with a detailed elucidation of many involved points. Father Schmidt's own corrections, modifications, and supplements are given their most recent formulation and the whole provides a complete and convenient guide to all aspects of the culture historical method. The numerous and excellent examples, applying the abstract to the concrete, should resolve all doubts as to the opera-

tions which this group feels should become standard in ethnological procedure...whether at a given point one agrees or not at all or only with many reservations. To follow the argument (often of intimately reasoned structure) surely means an enrichment of one's perspectives on techniques, method, theory, and methodology".

The elaborately systematic arrangement of the seven chapters of the book into paragraphs, sub-paragraphs, and sub-sub-paragraphs is an index to the detailed treatment of the subject and the complexity of the work. The language of the book, particularly where it deals with the recondite aspects of the subject, is not always easy-reading. Once the difficulty of the style is mastered, the student of the science of man will profit by a close study of the book, though he may not assent to some of the arguments and view-points of the erudite author.

Mother-Right in India By Baron Omar Rolf Ehrenfels. With an Introduction by Dr. W. Koppers. (Oxford University Press, 1941). Pp. Xi + 239. Rs 8.

This is a very valuable contribution to Indian Ethnology. The author has carried out his investigations into the matriarchal cultures of India by the culture-historical method set forth in the work of Father Schmidt just noticed. He attempts to investigate in the light of cultural and historical ethnology the entire complex of problems (including hypergamy, child marriage, *sati*, comparative neglect of maidens and widows, and even vegetarianism) supposed to be connected with the question of the Matriarchal System in India. The author finds that (1) "*certain distinct*

elements of probable, or certain, matriarchal descent are to be found all over India and within all different ethnic, cultural, linguistic, racial and religious groups, although in very various degrees'; and that (2) "to a living unit, a matriarchal 'quality of form', these elements seem to be joined only in the *north-east* (Khasi and Garo hills) and in the *south-west* (Kerala) of modern India". From his data the conclusion, the author thinks, is permissible that (1) "Totemism and mother-right in India belong to two different cultural units"; (2) "Mother-right in India is older than Totemism", and (3) "Totemism, whilst advancing in India, must have forced the matriarchally determined civilizations into the cultural backwater of the South-west, but at the same time did not prove able altogether to absorb the mother-right remnants and survivals within the totemistic territory".

Child-marriage, our author finds, is "the product of the struggle between patriarchal and matriarchal social systems". Similarly, he holds that "the bad position of the widow, intensified to the extreme in the custom of burning her alive with the body of the deceased husband, originally foreign to the pre-Aryan as well as to the Aryan society of India, has been evolved in the struggle between the originally matriarchal and the immigrated patriarchal system of society as a means to subdue the former by the religiously organized rule of the latter". As for the practice of Hypergamy, the author says, "He (Held) rightly says that Sarat Chandra Roy (in *Man in India*, vol. XIV) has found the explanation of the whole phenomenon by pointing to the stressing of the male

over the female element, so characteristic in this institution...The principle of hypergamy in India finds the best explanation in the desire of an immigrating, patriarchally organized society, to force the idea of the superiority of men on the women, whose spirit of independence and self-confidence was rooted in the old tradition of a matriarchally organized society. Hypergamy thus seems a means to subdue the female position in society by forcing upon her social inferiority in material relations”.

As for the relations between Hypergamy and Caste, our author says, “The creation of endogamous castes out of those which were formerly connected with each other by hypergamous (therefore exogamous) bonds of relationship, can be said to be a functionally reasonable process, the result of an evolution which history shows to have taken place again and again in India”.

Lastly, as for Vegetarianism, our author opines, “The Hindu-Brahman vegetarianism too, seems to have been originated in a similar constellation, though here it may have been the Indus-civilization itself which yielded the raw-material to this institution, and though the enemy fought by the same may not have been a higher, but a more primitive stage of matriarchal culture-circles”.

A map is given to show the regional “distribution of matriarchal and totemistic elements in India”.

In this short notice, we can only refer to a few of the salient points sought to be made in this remarkable volume characterized by an extensive collection of data and their penetrating analysis,

No student of Indian ethnology and sociology can afford to overlook this important work which is the first of its kind, though many may not agree with the author's conclusions on all points.

Aboriginal Woman : Sacred and Profane. By Phyllis M. Kaberry, M. A., Ph. D. (London). With an Introduction by Prof. A. P. Elkin. (Routledge, 1939) Pp. XXXI + 294. 15 s. net.

This volume is an important contribution to our study of the life of the Australian aborigines and the position of their women. It removes much of our misconception in this regard. Our author shows that aboriginal women definitely possess social personalities. "For all her apparently untethered existence, aboriginal woman, in connection with her brother, exercises well-defined rights of ownership over certain regions of the tribal territory. Her work is of the utmost importance: it makes her an indispensable unit in the tribal economy....Marriage is more than a sexual union: it involves economic co-operation, the sharing of food and a common hearth, the rearing of children. Apart from the choice of residence, husband and wife claim reciprocal privileges, fulfil reciprocal duties. Marriage confers status on both, and leads to the establishment of relationships with other hordes, with increased opportunities for *bulba*-exchanges, the right to be allowed certain ceremonies, and all the advantages of a stable permanent union, that ultimately outweigh the attraction of a temporary liaison with the disputes and quarrels it provokes....She (the mother) exercises much authority and influence over

them (her children), and they may be said to buttress her position in the tribe. There is no question of the tribe being exclusively patrilineal. The maternal relatives have an important rôle in the ceremonial, economic, and social life of an individual. Marriage for an aboriginal woman is a means of living a full life, of finding economic, sexual, social, and sentimental satisfaction....Her contentment is not inertia in the face of a destiny from which there is no escape...It is based on active participation in the life of the community, and the recognition of her rights as an individual and as a social personality...There are, however, aspects of public life in which she has a subordinate rôle. Warfare and judicial functions in cases of death are the prerogatives of the men. Political control is vested in the hands of the headman and the elders....Both men and women have their spiritual ties with the Time Long Past and the totemic ancestors. Both take part in sacred ceremonies. A ritual differentiation does exist, however, and is expressed in the exclusion of the women from some of the secret rituals of the men ; and the exclusion of the men from some of the secret rituals of the women....The women with regard to the men's rituals are profane and uninitiated ; the men with regard to the women's ritual are profane and uninitiated".

As the only work dealing with aboriginal Australian culture from a woman's view-point, this volume has an unique importance.

Pueblo Indian Religion, Vols. I & II. By Elsie Clews Parsons. (University of Chicago Press, 1939). Pp. xviii+1275. \$ 7.00.

We have in this work a detailed account of the religion of the Pueblo or Town Indians of Mexico and Arizona who represent the most advanced Indian culture of North America. As Pueblo religion, like other religions, covers life as a whole, the author gives in a long "Introduction" (covering 111 pages) a brief general survey of Pueblo life, with special emphasis on "habits of life and mind close in one way or another to religion". The Introduction is followed by nine long chapters headed as follow: Ch. I. Ceremonial Organization ; Ch. II. The Spirits ; Ch. III. Cosmic Notions, the Emergency and the Next World ; Ch. IV. Ritual ; Ch. V. Calendar ; Ch. VI. Ceremonies ; Ch. VII. Review Town by Town ; Ch. VIII. Variation and Borrowing ; Ch. IX. Other Processes of Change. Bibliographical Notes, Bibliography, an Appendix, and an exhaustive Index and two useful Maps complete the volumes. The volumes are stocked full with data of absorbing interest gathered mostly from the author's personal observation during prolonged visiting acquaintance of many years among all the Pueblos. Dr. Persons offers many suggestions for future investigations in order to "fill out gaps in the record or to go on with it, and to analyze relations of the Pueblos with other tribes or peoples in the south-west and Mexico". The author and the University of Chicago have laid all anthropologists in their debt by producing and publishing these most interesting volumes.

The Work of the Gods in Tikopia, Vol. II. By Raymond Firth. (Percy Lund, Humphries & Co., London, 1940). Pp. 189-377. 7s. 6d.

Here is another book of outstanding merit.

In the last September issue of this Journal we reviewed the first volume of 'The Work of the Gods in Tikopia'. In that volume an account was given of the first five series of rites of the monsoon season. In the present volume the monsoon season sequence is completed, and then follow several chapters describing such rites of the trade-wind season as do not take place in the monsoon.

To this lengthy record of field-observation, the author occasionally adds theoretical interpretations when necessary only to explain. The broad character of the premises of Tikopian belief as has emerged in course of these volumes is described by our author as follows:—

"The most fundamental is the existence of a set of invisible beings, ancestors and spirits who may be called deities, known by the generic term of *atua*. These beings too are co-ordinated; they have a social organization parallel to that of the Tikopia, and from our point of view essentially an imaginative and emotional projection of this....A second basic premise is that the activity of these invisible beings shows itself in visible, material results. This situation is crystallized in the term *manu* (an unknown factor in the equation between man and nature)". "In this Tikopia seasonal cycle", Dr. Firth concludes, "we have not only a cult of nature, but also the high point of a richly ornamented religious system which grips technology and human artifacts into an integrated scheme of belief, which provides a periodic means of expression of social differences and re-affirmation of

the social structure ; which idealizes the past and uses it as a tool in the processes of the present ; and which while seeming to cater for the satisfaction of immediate material wants in reality exemplifies for this community a set of values far transcending their own conceptions of what they need".

Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction : Studies in Modern Social Structure. By Karl Mannheim. (Kegan Paul. Second Impression, 1939) Pp. xxii + 465. 16s. 6d.

This is a stimulating and suggestive work of considerable merit. Although the topics dealt with in it do not strictly appertain to anthropology proper, we have here what might be called "a sociological analysis of contemporary culture in which the most important results of historical investigation, psychology, pedagogy and anthropology are linked up in a new approach in the study of modern society". By an analysis of social processes which are leading to individual and community disorganization, to the re-emergence of irrationalism, and to the frustration of cultural leadership, which leaves democratic society as a whole at the mercy of the dictators, the author attempts to substantiate his main thesis, namely, that "the traditional principle of *laissez-faire*, applied to an era of mass society, can only lead to chaos". The author therefore suggests a new form of planning which he calls "planning for freedom". He outlines "a society in which there shall be control without standardization and dictatorship ; co-ordination of social and psychological techniques without interference with liberal culture".

The book deserves the attention not only of students of anthropology but of the educated public in general.

Migration and Environment. By H. L. Shapiro.
(Oxford University Press, 1939). Pp. XI+594.
\$7·5·0.

In this volume we have an elaborate examination and analysis of the physical characteristics of Japanese immigrants to Hawaii and the effects of environment on their descendants. For purposes of comparative study, the data is divided into three distinct groups, based both on country of birth and on country of residence,—these three divisions being (1) Hawaiian-born Japanese of Japanese immigrant parentage, (2) Japanese immigrants now resident in Hawaii but born in Japan, (3) and Japanese sedentaries, i. e. the relatives of the immigrants of Hawaiian-born who have remained in Japan in the villages from which the immigrants migrated.

We know of no other previous work in which such an elaborate inquiry into the consequences of migration and of a change of environment on the physical characteristics of a migrating population has been so exhaustively dealt with.

The Travancore Tribes and Castes. The Aborigines of Travancore, vol. III. By L. A. Krishna Iyer, M. A. *With a Foreword by the Honourable C. P. Skrine, and an Introduction by Dr. R. R. Marett.* (Travancore Government Press, 1941).

Students will welcome this third and last volume of *Travancore Castes and Tribes*, of which the first two volumes, when they appeared, were highly spoken of by anthropological Journals and authorities. In the present volume a general summary is given of the racial and cultural characteristics and customs of the different tribes described in detail in the previous volumes. The learned author has confined himself in this volume to the primitive tribes only as in them we get a glimpse into the early stages through which human society has progressed to its present civilization. The author concludes with helpful suggestions as to remedies for the present rapid decline of the primitives in population as well as in economic and cultural development. We trust the enlightened Administration of Travancore will utilise the services of the talented author in improving the lot of the depressed and backward classes of the State by suitable measures which his expert knowledge will enable him to adopt.

Notes on the Aboriginal Problem in the Mandla District. By W. V. Grigson, I. C. S. (Government Printing, Nagpur, 1940). Pp. II + 52 + viii. 4 as.

The welfare of the Backward classes (aboriginal tribes and Scheduled Castes) has been declared by the present India Government Act to be among the special responsibilities of our Provincial Governors. In discharge of their special responsibilities in this respect, special measures have been adopted by the different Governors of Provinces with a large population of Backward classes. But in most of the Provinces, the mea-

sures adopted appear to be inadequate and halting. The reason for this is not far to seek. Without an intimate knowledge of the aborigines, their sociology and their problems and without the inspiration of living sympathy with their troubles and difficulties, a Backward Class Officer, however high his official status and however large be his administrative experience, and whatever be the funds at his disposal, can do very little substantial good to the aborigines and depressed classes. And this appears to be the case in most of our Provinces. The only exceptions would appear to be Assam, the Central Provinces, and to some extent Bombay. The aborigines of Assam, under the supervision of an Honorary Director of Ethnology inspired with a zeal for the all-round amelioration of the condition of the aborigines of that Province, have been helped in preserving their social structure and in adjusting themselves to the new influences which necessarily impinge upon them. Suitable steps are taken to make the education of the aboriginal boy a part of his ordinary village life rather than something exotic. In the primary stage, they are, wherever possible, taught in their own language. Boys are taught to carve in their traditional style, and schools can be seen built on the tribal model, with carved posts and beams. The masters are themselves tribesmen and teach tribal dances, songs and games. Where it is not too late to do so (as among the Khasis) tribal dress is encouraged, and with it indigenous spinning and weaving. Progress has also been made in agriculture, which is the basis of tribal economics.

In Bombay, the Governor in discharge of his

special responsibility appointed temporarily in 1937 an I. C. S. officer as a Special Officer to investigate (1) the proper condition of the Bhils with special reference to the disabilities from which they are suffering ; (2) to what extent their disabilities are capable of being remedied by Government action ; (3) how far the measures taken by the Government in the past to improve the Bhils are adequate and whether they are being regularly and satisfactorily carried out ; (4) what new measures are required by Government ; (5) whether existing Government agencies and methods are adequate to enable the Government policy in respect of the Bhils to be regularly carried out and developed and the effects of Government activity of all forms on the Bhils to be ascertained, or whether additional Government agency or methods should be provided.

In order to collect as much material as possible before actually entering upon the inquiry, the Special Officer circulated to the District Officers a Questionnaire relating to the activity of the different departments of Government and of local bodies, and also to non-official bodies such as missions and educational societies, for the improvement of the condition of the aborigines. On receipt of the replies active measures have been adopted and arrangements made for the further amelioration of the economic, educational, and social amelioration of the Bhils. The Government of C. P. and Berar are to be congratulated on having selected for the post of Aboriginal Tribes Enquiry Officer a most suitable officer, Mr. W. V. Grigson, I. C. S., an anthropologist of note and author of an excellent monograph on the *Maria Gonds* of Bastar. He began his work by requesting the Deputy Commissioner of each District to get for him notes prepared by each local departmental officer on the work of his department in the district (*sic.* with special reference to the

aborigines). Equipped with these notes, Mr. Grigson made a thorough tour in the District to investigate things personally. In his tours in the Mandla District he was accompanied by Mr. Verrier Elwin, another well-known anthropologist and author of "The Baigas", whose assistance he greatly appreciated. As the result of these investigations, Mr. Grigson prepared these "Notes on the Aboriginal Problem of the Mandla District" which are intensely interesting and instructive. Measures taken in pursuance of these 'Notes' are calculated to further the amelioration of the condition of the aborigines of the District to a considerable extent. We are eagerly looking forward to reading similar 'Notes' by Mr. Grigson on the other aboriginal Districts of C. P. and Berar. The following table of contents of these 'Notes' will show how thorough-going Mr. Grigson's investigation has been :—*Introductory: Route followed; Administrative arrangements and trial of cases; Tribal Panchayats; Police; Civil Justice; Registration of Money-lenders; Bond-Service; Free legal advice (needed for the aborigines); Publicity; Tenancy and Land Alienation Legislation; Landlords and Tenants; Grazing and Begar; Excise; Forests:—Concessions, Complaints, Forest offences; The Baiga inside and around the Baiga Chak:—Bewar and field cultivation, Bari cultivation and villages, Health, Village industries, Grazing, etc., Fishing, Hunting, Forest Wages and labour, Debt, Cost of Baiga weddings, Dancing, Tribal divisions, Deformities, Conclusion; Public Health, Medical Relief and Water-supply; Agricul-*

ture, Veterinary work and Stock-raising; Co-operative Societies; Local Self-Government: Expenditure on aborigines, Election and nomination, Gond Maha-Sabha, Village Panchayats, Weights and Measures; Communications; Education: Present position, and aboriginal views, Major difficulties, the Work of the Bhumijan Seva Mandal, Training of Teachers, Hygiene teaching, Use of aboriginal languages; The Aboriginal Population of Mandla: Statistics, the Panka tribe; Languages. Appendix; Note on Co-operative Societies; Index.

The C. P. Government and Mr. Grigson are to be congratulated on the publication of these 'Notes'. It is a matter of great satisfaction and promise that although Mr. Grigson was temporarily deputed to act as Aboriginal Tribal Enquiry Officer, he will, even in his present position as Secretary to the Governor, C. P. and Berar, continue to pay special attention to the welfare of the Aborigines of his Province, just as Mr. J. P. Mills, I. C. S., has been doing in Assam. It is to be earnestly expected that other Provinces might similarly place competent officials with genuine sympathy and intimate (and, if possible, scientific) knowledge of the aborigines in charge of aboriginal welfare work.

Population, Race and Eugenics by Morris Siegel, M. D. Published by the author, 546 Burton Street, East, Hamilton, Ontario. 1939. Pp. x +204.

This book on population, race and eugenics consists of two parts, viz., I. Positive Eugenics and II. Restrictive Eugenics. Credit must be given to the author for his treatment of so many topics within the compass of a small volume; but, we are afraid, the discussions of Population and Eugenics or Racial Theories in relation to Eugenics have suffered to some extent from compression. In Part II, the author has discussed in detail the hereditary aspect of mental diseases. Certain pathological defects which modern scholars claim to be hereditary have however been left out. Chapter IV of Part II, dealing with restrictive measures in detail, is indeed very useful.

*Praphulla Chandra Biswas,
M. Sc (Cal.) Ph. D. (Berlin).*

International Directory of Anthropologists. In two sections : Section I. Western Hemisphere ; Section II. Eastern Hemisphere. (Washington, D. C. 1940) Pp. 442. \$ 2-00 (Section I & II together)

The National Research Council deserves the gratitude of all students of Anthropology and allied subjects for bringing out this enlarged and improved second edition of a very useful work of reference. We are sure these volumes will be cordially welcomed by anthropologists all the world over; and the next edition will show the addition of many more names.

Revenge : A Love Tale of the Mount Eden Tribe.
 By John White—Edited by A. W. Reed. (New Zealand. A. H. & A. W. Reed. 1940) Pp. xiii+290.
 30 \$.

Though cast in the form of a novel or love-tale, the principal interest of this book lies in the faithful picture it presents of the everyday life of the Maori tribe before the coming of the Pakeha. No one was better fitted for the task than the author who spent over fifty years of his life in intimate contact with the Maoris. What the author himself said in the foreword of another book of his, entitled *Te Rou ; or, the Maori at Home* applies equally well to the present work : “The present volume, or tale, exhibits truthfully the every-day life, habits and character of the pre-civilisation Maori ; and as such may be accepted by the scientific men as a contribution towards a knowledge of the past from one who, having no pretensions to scientific acquirements, writes from a personal knowledge and observation of the accuracy of the information conveyed”. The book will form an invaluable addition to the study of Maori life and ancient Maori lore. The Maori mode of expression has been, as far as possible, carefully followed, and the songs, proverbs and incantations are reproductions of the ancient originals. The editor and the publishers are to be congratulated on the production of this highly interesting volume.

Archaeology.

**The Tresse' Iron-Age Megalithic Monument
 (Sir Robert Mond's Excavation) And its Quadruple**

Sculptured Breasts and Their Relation to the Mother Goddess Cult. By V. C. C. Collum. (Oxford University Press.) Humphrey Milford, 1935) Pp. xii+123. 8s. 6d.

We have in this volume an interesting Report on the excavation of a hitherto unexcavated *alle'e couverte* of the Gallo-Roman period, with realistic sculptures in relief of two double parts of human breasts, and containing a crouched burial *in situ*, fragments of a one-edged iron short sword, steatite heads, and more than sixty parts of American Dolmenic and American Gaulish styles and ceramique techniques at Tresse', St. Mala, Ille-et-Vilaine, in 1911. The excavation was undertaken by Sir Robert Mond, M. A., L. L. D., F. R. S., Ed. F. S. A., for the owner, Baron Robert Surconf, by permission of the French Ministry of Fine Arts, and carried out on his behalf by V. C. C. Collum. The Report is followed up by an exhaustive comparative study of the cult responsible for the symbolisation of the twin pairs of human breasts.

The 'Mother Goddess' symbolism of the sculptured double breasts will be of special interest to students in India where this symbolism of the Cosmic Female Principle is familiar not only to the enlightened classes but even to some of the unlettered and unsophisticated aboriginal tribes. Thus the Oraon tribe of Chota Nagpur in some of their dormitories for young bachelors have "one or more planks of wood with human female breasts rudely carved in relief on them resting over the central beam supporting the roof" (Roy, *Oraon Religion and Customs*, p. 86).

Mr. Collum briefly discusses the cult of the Female

Principle of Creation as it flourished in different countries such as Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt and India, as may be gleaned from their ancient literary remains. An enquiry into the survivals of this cult among the living races of mankind will be intensely interesting and instructive.

The author's conclusions regarding the *alle'e couverte* at Tressé are thus summarised :

I. The *alle'e couverte* at Tressé had not been previously excavated.

II. It was a native Gaulish tomb that was at the same time a funeral grotto representing an Entrance to the Underworld which symbolized the Return to the Womb of the Creatrix.

III. It was erected in the first century A.D. probably in the reign of Domitian.

IV. The funeral ceremony consisted in interring the dead, building a tomb over him, offering gifts to his spirit, and consecrating more extensive gifts to the Goddess under whose protection he was placed.

V. That goddess was the Great Female Principle (comprehending a Male Principle), both in its unmanifested aspect as Potential Creatrix, and its manifesting aspect as Woman the Lover-Bride and as the all-nourishing Mother, whose cult was widespread in Asia Minor, Syria, Central Asia and N.W. India, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Egypt.

VI. This cosmic cult can be demonstrated both in the archaeological remains of Gaul and Great Britain, and in the occult poetry and religious epics of Ireland and Wales and in Gaelic hymns surviving orally in the Western Isles of Scotland.

VII. Clues to the interpretation of the symbolism of the archaeological remains and of the literature and folklore can be obtained by a comparative study of the hymnology of Babylonia, and the Sanskrit mystic literature of Shakti-ism in India and of the Hebrew *Zohar*, checked by the archaeological religious remains in NW. India, Tibet, and Baluchistan, and in Syria and Egypt.

VIII. The peculiar symbolism of double pairs of human breasts was probably suggested by a knowledge of cult statues of Artemis Ephesia of the Graeco-Roman period and of the esoteric Tantric and ancient Kabbalist doctrine of the twofold Mother-Bride as potential and active Creatrix and Re-absorber of all life at death.

IX. Such esoteric teaching was probably first introduced by the poet-seers or 'druids' and imparted only to the educated classes. Certain arithmetical symbolism common to these occult systems and to Pythagoreanism, and of which both archaeological relics and bardic poetry show traces, supports the testimony of classic authors in regard to the druidic teaching. It was almost certainly reintroduced, or emphasized, by Gnostic teaching, of which there is evidence both in archaeological remains, particularly in Scotland, and in bardic literature, particularly Welsh, and in the tenets of the Scotic Fathers, Pelagius and Johannes Eriugena; whilst the very fact of this Gnostic teaching finding itself at home in countries where druidic teaching flourished is strong circumstantial evidence of the Asian character of 'druidry'.

X. The route by which such teaching reached Gaul and Britain both in pre-Christian and post-Christian times was probably *via* the North African coast, the Mediterranean Islands, the Iberian coast, and Armorica. It corresponds with the southern part of the route marked by megalithic monuments.

XI. A monument so rich in archaeological remains (i. e. the ceramic relics) and possessing such unique sculpture deserves careful preservation, more especially of its two sculptured stones.

XII. The questions raised by a study of these sculptures are so important that a fresh examination of Gaulish religious remains, and of folk-lore in formerly Celtic-speaking countries, is urgently required, together with a wider and deeper comparative study of the Cosmic cult associated with the Mother Goddess.

The Primitives. By O. C. Gangoly. (Calcutta, 1941) Pp. 11, with 9 plates on art paper.

The author who is one of the foremost artists and art-critics of India gives us his appreciation of the art of primitive man. He begins the brochure with the following words: "The aborigines, savages and primitive tribes of humanity, surviving in different parts of the world, against the onslaught of civilization, have preserved for us some of the evidences and data as to the mental outlook, the psychology, and the emotional reactions to the forces of nature of the Primeval Man. The records of their artistic powers, the resultants of their æsthetic vision in contemplating, understanding, and generalizing, in abstract designs, the beauty of

natural forms, their handicrafts,—the products of their skilful manual dexterity, the shaping of their fetishes and cult-images, fashioned with mystic imagination,—offer to the connoisseurs and historians of Art, one of the most valuable records of the human mind in the baby-days of psychic consciousness, when the visual powers were at their highest and the sensibility to react to forms and colours was the keenest, and, shining with utmost power of sensitiveness—yet uncontaminated by the growth of empirical knowledge, and, yet unimpaired by the evils of civilization....In the process of civilization, the Primitive Man gradually loses his powers of realistic apprehension of form, which the modern artist attains after a long course of severe training in the Life Classes of our Schools of Art but which were the normal gift of the average Caveman, who could scratch on an untractable piece of bone, accurate ‘pictures’ of his hunting games, with the astonishing realism and *gusto* of the most gifted animal-painters of historical times”. The author then briefly refers to the pre-historic art (rock-paintings, cave-paintings, &c.) of different parts of the world, and finally speaks of the Primitive Art of India as follows : “In India, the primitive outlook of the oldest and aboriginal races and tribes (still surviving at various areas) has never been fully ousted and over-powered by the Aryan Civilisation to which the non-Aryan contribution has been great and valuable. Through the successive waves of developed and refined classical culture, the under-lying core of primitive consciousness has frequently exhibited itself in various interesting revelations. Early Indian Sculpture, with its vigorous and unconscious realism, reveals

an intensity of vision and perception and a Cubistic grasp of the Fundamentals of Form, akin to the quality of Maya sculpture, which the sophisticated refinements of Mauryan and Gupta Sculpture fail, entirely, to cover up or overlay. In the sphere of pictorial art, even after the reign of the classic phases of the Ajantan and Bagh schools for over seven hundred years, the feeling and technique of the 'primitives' burst forth in the miniatures of the Gujarati schools (the so-called 'Jaina' paintings) in the 12th century and live a vigorous life of popularity covering nearly four centuries. Even as late as the sixteenth century another Primitive revelation blossoms forth in the magnificent 'Ragini' miniatures of the Orcha School, (Fig. 14) making a 'new' beginning, as it were, discarding the formula of the earlier classical phases and going back to the primitive folk-language of a tertiary *prākrita*, expressing the motifs of the Musical Modes in an archaic technique, in brilliant juxtaposition of the primary colours and speaking in an aboriginal idiom—devoid of any manner of refined draughtsmanship". The author concludes with an optimistic note as follows : "If the natural faculties have not been lost, but merely over-run, by the crusts and deposits of civilization and inhibited by education, it may still be possible to look at things with the keen and spontaneous vision, with the passion and intensity of the Primitives. To recover the Lost World, we require a civilization which will merely refine and spiritualize the Primeval instincts and faculties and not displace or destroy them".

Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions (1936-37 A. C., Issued 1939). Pp. 86 and numerous Plates.

As usual, this Annual Report is a record of substantial progress in the work of conservation of monuments, excavation of new sites and finds of remains of ancient temples and buildings besides ancient glass pottery, glass bangles and beads and coins of hitherto unknown varieties. It is very much to be desired that other Indian States emulated the notable archaeological activities of this Premier Indian State.

The Archaeology of Gujarat (including Kathiawar), By H. D. Sankalia. (Bombay, Natwarlal, 1941) Pp. xvi+208+109. With 7 Maps and 41 Plates.

The get-up of the book is as nice and attractive as its contents are intensely interesting, informative and instructive. We welcome this first comprehensive scientific study of archaeology of Gujarat (including Kathiawar) written by an accomplished scholar who is also intensely interested in his subject. The entire archaeological material, prehistoric as well as historic, of Gujarat and Kathiawar has been systematically collected and marshalled. The author has sought to correlate the archaeological monuments of Gujarat and Kathiawar with all epigraphic records relating to them from early historical times down to the end of the 14th century, and has sought to trace the antiquity and evolution of architecture, culture, iconography, epigraphy, numismatics, administration, society,

and religion and religious cults in pre-Muhammadan Gujarat and Kathiawar over a period of about 1600 years. The book is thorough and exhaustive so far as materials hitherto discovered permit it to be so. An idea of the scope of the book will be obtained from the chapter headings, viz. I. Geography, II. History, III. Architecture, IV. Sculpture, V. Cults, VI. Iconography, VII. Epigraphy, VIII. Numismatics, IX. Administration, X. Society, XI. Religion, XII. Gujarat and Indian Culture. As many as 13 Appendices and 41 Plates of illustrations complete the book. This maiden work which was presented as a thesis for the Ph. D. degree of the University of London and accepted holds out promise of more contributions of as much or perhaps more value to Indology.

Archaeological Survey of India. No. 64 : Excavations in Swat and Explorations in the Oxus territories of Afghanistan. By Evert Barger and Philip Wright. Pp. 67+XII plates (including a Map). Rs 5-10 as. or 8s. 9d.

This interesting Memoir embodies the Report of the British Expedition to the Swat Valley and northern Afghanistan in the summer of 1938, led by Prof. Barger and Mr. Wright. The Expedition's work has broken altogether new ground, which may be of immense help to explorers who will follow in their track. Chronological conclusions are often difficult to arrive at in these unexplored regions owing to "the inadequacy of our knowledge and of comparative material such as could only come from the excavation of a large number of sites in Iran and in the Oxus

region". The objects unearthed by the Expedition are of great interest.

History.

Pre-Buddhist India. By Ratilal N. Mehta—
(Examiner Press, Bombay, 1939) Pp. xxvi+461. Rs.15.

This monumental work is a very valuable contribution to ancient Indian History, as it appreciably advances our knowledge of the social, economic, and political and administrative history of ancient India. The learned author attempts in this volume "to visualise the picture of ancient India through the *Jātaka Stories*". And we have no hesitation in saying that his attempt has been eminently successful. Following a short discussion on "the homogeneity of the Jātakas and their age", the volume is divided up into five sections headed respectively, "Glimpses of Political History", "Administrative organisation; "Economic Aspects", "Sociological Conditions", and "Geography of the Jatakas". Each of these sections is stocked with exhaustive and valuable data, collected, collated, and systematised with consummate ability and devoted care, analysed and sifted with great critical ability, and set forth with admirable lucidity and terseness.

Throughout the volume the author has kept himself free from bias, and his comments always appear to be well-founded, and pertinent and just. As the most comprehensive, scientific and systematic account of ancient Indian life as portrayed in the *Jātaka* stories, this book will long remain the standard work on the subject.

Jenghiz Khan. By C. C. Walker, with seven maps in colour. (Luzac, 1939). Pp. 213. 17s. 6d.

Although other and more ambitious histories of the great Mongal conquerer and ruler Jenghiz Khan have been written before, the present work in which an active soldier gives us a realistic life-like study of the great Mongol's Campaigns from a military viewpoint has a freshness and flavour of its own which arrests the reader's attention and interest. The author gives a vivid though concise account of the military career of one of the greatest conquerors the world has ever seen, who, though born and brought up as the chief of a petty Mongolian tribe, carried his victorious arms from the China Sea to the banks of the Dnieper. Although Mr. Walker does not claim originality for his historical and biographical data, but has freely utilised the researches of previous writers like d'Ohsson, Howarth, Barthold, P. de la Croix, and the diary of Chiang Chun, he weighs them critically from the military aspects of the events narrated.

One special point which strikes the reader of this book is the author's freedom from the race-prejudice which vitiates the works of many Western writers and his unbiassed estimate of his hero's character. As samples of this essential quality of a book of history and biography the following passages may be quoted: "As a personality, his relentless energy when there was work to be done and his driving power, are unequalled by the Great Captains of the West....In vision also, Jenghiz Khan is one of the great figures of history. Alexander and his phalanx cannot compare with this nomad chieftain whose horses wet their hoofs at the tip of the Shanting peninsula, on the surf-swept beaches of the Indian Ocean, and in the Dnieper. The brain becomes bewildered by the tremen-

dous distances covered by his campaigns....The galaxy of brilliant commanders who served the great Khan can only be compared to Napoleon's marshals. There is a sureness of stroke and a deftness in his method which does stand out so clearly in the work of his subordinates....Their strokes would end a battle, his ended a campaign without a battle. Where they thought in thousands of men on a square mile of ground, his mind pictured whole armies manœuvring in an empire. And when we remember him on the field at Parwan, listening quietly to Sike Kutaku attempting to excuse himself, with thousands of his men strewn over the rocky valley, there is something in his reserve and the lack of incrimination which marks him as a man standing far above those about him. What, for instance, would Napoleon or Alexander have said and done in like circumstances" ? (Pp. 174-5).

The book is bound to prove intensely interesting and instructive to every student of medieval history.

The Santal Insurrection of 1855-57. By Kali-kinkar Datta, M. A., Ph. D. (University of Calcutta, 1940). Pp. xi + 103. With a Map.

In this book the author has utilized certain unpublished records which throw additional light on the insurrection and the events that led to and attended it. To the student of Man, events attending the insurrection and the measures taken to put it down are not of much intrinsic importance : What matters to him most are those features of such risings which throw light on the psychology of primitive mass movements like the 'Santal Insurrection' and the 'Kol Insurrection' in Chota Nagpur. We wish the author should have given more attention to this aspect of the matter. So far, however, as it goes, the author's account of the Insurrection is fuller and more accurate and reliable than previous accounts of the same. There are one

or two points in his account which are not above criticism. At p. 40, he writes, "of these 18 prisoners, 9 were hillmen and 5 *benias*, which showed that "armed bands of Hillmen, Bonyahs (*benias*) and other low castes 'were' pillaging as well as Santals around Colgong". Here '*benias*' would appear to be a mistake for '*Bhuinyas*' or '*Bhuiyas*'—a well-known aboriginal tribe, now more or less Hinduised. That this is so will be clear from p. 53, where after the word '*bhunyas*' the author writes within brackets '*bhuiyas*'. Again at p. 68, we read of 6 '*Bhooeas*' having been among the prisoners. The '*Benias*' could on no account be described as a 'low caste'. Again, the references to the 'poisoned arrows' of the Santals are somewhat puzzling to the student of Santal ethnology, as the practice of poisoning arrows appears to have been unknown to the tribe, at least it is so at the present day. The author's observation about the Christian missions at p. 72 are again not quite correct. It is not a fact that 'the direction of missionary activities to the aboriginal races' was "one of the important results of the Santal Insurrection" and that "From this time, Chota Nagpur, and the adjoining hill districts of Bengal, became studded with missions". It was some years before the 'Santal Insurrection' that the first Christian mission station was established at Ranchi (1845) and other stations grew up in quick succession, and among the Santals a Christian mission had been established at Midnapur a few years before the outbreak of the Insurrection.

The author deserves congratulation for this new and latest study of the Santal Insurrection.

Indian Philosophy.

The Vedānta Philosophy or Brahma Sutra. With Original Sūtras and explanatory quotations from Upanisads, Bhagavad Gita, etc., and their English translations. By Sridhar Majumdar, M.A., (Barisal, 1938). Pp. xiv+479+xviii. Rs 5.

This is a most welcome and illuminating translation of the *Brahma Sūtras* of Bādārāyana in English with explanatory notes. The author has sought to present an unbiassed interpretation of the abstruse aphorisms of the Vedānta Sūtra which have been interpreted by different Ācharyas belonging to different cults and schools of thought. The author bases his notes chiefly on the interpretation given by Nimbārka whose viewpoint has been thus summarised by Pandit Kokileswara Shastri in his Foreword to the book : "Brahman is regarded as both the Efficient and Material cause of the universe ; Brahman is both Nirguṇa and Saguṇa, as It is not exhausted in the creation, but also transcends it. The universe is not, according to this view, unreal or illusory but is a true manifestation or Pariṇāma of Brahman ; it may, however, be said to be unreal, only in the sense that the present state of its existence is not self-sufficient and that it has no separate existence from Brahman. The universe is identical with, as well as different from, Brahman, even as a wave or bubble is the same as, and different from, water. The individual souls are parts of the Supreme Being and are controlled by It. Emancipation lies in realizing the true nature of the Spirit and it is attainable by true devotion or Bhakti. The individuality (*जीवत्व*) of the finite self is not dissolved even in the state of *mukti*".

For facility of comprehension, the author prefaces each section with a Sketch of the section, Sūtra by Sūtra, so as to give the reader a preliminary idea of the contents of the section. Each Sūtra is followed by a statement of its object, an elaborate Explanation, besides notes, and meanings of important words. We do not know of a more helpful introduction for the study of the Brahma-Sūtra, especially for students who may not have access to all extant commentaries on the Sūtras.

A History of Indian Philosophy. By Surendra Nath Das Gupta, M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt., Vol. III. (Cambridge University Press, 1940). Pp. xiii+614. 35 s.

Dr. Das Gupta's *History of Indian Philosophy* which is to be completed in six volumes is "the first comprehensive attempt to trace a continuous history of Indian thought from the earliest times, and...is based throughout on a direct and first-hand study of all available texts and manuscript sources". The present volume deals with *The Bhāskara School of Philosophy*, *The Pancharātra*, *The Ārvārs*, *An Historical and Literary Survey of the Vis'istādvaita School of Thought*, *The Philosophy of Yāmunāchārya*; *The Philosophy of the Rāmānujā School of Thought*, *The Nimbārka School of Philosophy*, *The Philosophy of Vijñāna Bhikṣu*, and *Philosophical Speculations of some of the selected Purāṇas (Vishnu, the Vāyu, Mārkajideya, Nāradīya, and Kurma)*. As an Appendix to Vol. I. accounts are given of the materialistic philosophies known as the *Likāyata*, *Nāstika* and *Chārvāka*.

The present volume keeps up the high standard of the earlier volumes both in its matter and method, and students of Indian philosophy will eagerly look forward to studying the volumes that are to follow.

Yoga—Personal Hygiene by Shri Yogendra. (The Yoga Institute, Bombay, 1940). De Luxe Edition Rs. 12/8/- Cheap Reprint Rs. 7/8/- Pp. 301+34 plates.

The writer is a well known adept in Hatha Yoga and has contributed a number of volumes on the ancient Yogic practices. In this work, the author tries to indicate with the help of scientific and quasi-scientific data, the value of the Yogic prescriptions for care of the ear, nose, throat and the eyes, as also of the major organs of the body. While some of the practices recommended are difficult to perform and not of definitely proved value or to the extent claimed, there is no doubt that a Hathayogi knows how to preserve health and youthfulness beyond the normal span of life of the average man. Many of the easier practices are known to or common among the orthodox Hindus all over India. Some of the prescribed exercises have found their way into the systems of health culture in western countries.

The book will be found useful by those who desire to have detailed information on the value of Hatha-yoga in personal hygiene.

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Miscellaneous.

India of the Rajahs. By Major S. E. G. Ponder. (Stanley Paul, London, 1940). Pp. 255.

In this book the author records the impressions of his short visits mostly to such purely Indian States as Jodhpur, Bundi, and Hyderabad (Deccan).

In his Foreword to the book the author frankly tells us that "the aim of this book is to amuse and interest". Again, speaking of his experience of the Bundi State of Rajputana which he visited he very pertinently says, "I was sure I knew nothing of these people of Bundi, and was merely picking at a surface which I could not hope to penetrate. It was as if I were standing penniless outside a cinema, trying to see the film being shown inside from looking at the advertisements. To know another race you have not only to live among them, but with them, a point many travellers seem to miss, perhaps fortunately". The author's style is delightful; he is more inclined to look at the humorous side of life rather than the serious. As an entertaining book of travel, the book has a merit of its own.

Manifold Unity: The Ancient World's Perception of the Divine Pattern of Harmony and Compassion. By Collum. (John Murray, 1940). Pp. 115. 3s. 6d.

This is the second volume of the 'Wisdom of the East' series. This series is designed to be the "ambassadors of good-will and understanding between East and West, the old world of Thought and the new of Action." The editors of the series have good reasons

to be "confident that a deeper knowledge of the great ideals and lofty philosophy of Oriental thought may help to a revival of that true spirit of Charity which neither despises nor fears the nations of another creed and colour". We shall here content ourselves with quoting a few representative passages from the book to give our readers an idea of its trend and scope. The book begins with a poem entitled "The Heart of the Lotus is 'one,'" the opening stanza of which is as follows :—

" 'Aum'—so chanted, in parable, the ancient Indian Seers—
Is the three-fold basic vibration, the musical SOUND
'To be', Being, and Ceasing-from-being.
Unfolding as a lovely flower, eight petalled,
An octave of consequential notes :
Seven the grades, the inter-locking ratios,
The fellowship linking the Many in the One
With the bond of brotherhood, of a Common Father as Sons".

The cosmic religions of the Ancient East, our author points out, was a conviction of divine Unity, of Power, Beauty, and Justness. "This old cosmic philosophy (misnamed 'Pantheism' by Western writers) anticipated Einstein in regarding manifestation of the One as something that appeared to take place in *Time*; being indeed a serialization of something that transcended the limitations of the human mind in grasping the fact of Being". (p. 24) "To upset the living equilibrium of this exquisitely balanced manifestation of divine Harmony constituted discord, and discord was its own doom and damnation". (p. 24). "Disharmony was a trouble that must cause grievous injury to the Whole and hence to every part of the Whole. From this it followed naturally that the sorrows of the least of God's creatures must pierce the beating heart of

Creation" (p. 25). "Are not the Communal troubles in India, at bottom, founded on religious jealousy between the Mussalmans who proclaim that 'Allah is One' and the Hindus who claim that God is both One and Many ? The terrible egoism of man when he claims that he, alone, is able to see God, is, indeed, one of the prime factors of human disunity—of treachery to God, the father of all men, and to man's own brother man—and should have been impossible had the pioneers of our civilization been able to impress on posterity the conception of their seers and poets of the unity of the Supreme Being and his universe and of the essentially compassionate character of the Creator manifesting in creation". (pp. 34-35) "In this idea of the Cosmos as Music performed by a Poet, there is first and above all, the profound recognition of the majesty and beauty of the One—the central Reality of which all else is expression, to which all else is relative, and, moreover, related proportionally. Then there is the clear insight into some of the deepest mysteries that have baffled human intellect. For example, the nature of the Real and the Eternal which, actually, is beyond our comprehension, but which is yet apprehended by us through this very relativity, in which we see the One and the Eternal becoming, as it were, graspable by our finite intellect by reason of that One's serialization as Time, and, through spatial extension as Matter, which is Time's other face. For this serialization is governed by proportioned number" (pp. 92-93). "We are part of the One, and no one creature is intrinsically of greater value than another or of lesser import, and each is a microcosm of the Cosmos. And yet there can be no harmony,

no manifestation of the One, on our part, except in so far as our relation with one another is just, and there can be no creative music except as we play our part relatively to all the other individuals, and to the aggregate, in our just proportion, thus building up the sum that is God's Whole—a differentiated, harmonized Unity" (pp. 92-93).

We heartily welcome the opportune publication of this valuable series designed to "bring together West and East in a spirit of mutual sympathy, goodwill and understanding", and eagerly look forward to reading other volumes of the series.

Bengali Literature.

Bangla Sahiteyer Itibās (History of Bengali Literature from the Beginning to the first-half of the 19th Century.) By Sukumar Sen, M. A., Ph. D. (Modern Book Agency, Calcutta, 1940.)

This book from the pen of Prof. Sen well sustains his reputation for scholarly researches in the field of Bengali Literature. Dr. Sen has treated his subject chronologically and objectively—a procedure quite distinct from that followed by previous writers. The author has quoted copiously from ancient writings referred to in his book and this will be of great advantage to readers who cannot get access to those writings. The book contains a masterly discussion on the subject of Chandidas in relation to the recently discovered work "Sri Krisna Kirtan". We find that Dr. Sen has differed on some points from Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen. Researches in this field have changed many of

our old views and modified some. Researches are still continuing on the subject and so we cannot yet say with finality which ones are correct.

The Book contains a foreward from the pen of Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore.

H. D. Ghose, M. A., B. L.

We have received from the Provincial Press Advisor, Bihar, a series of articles on Air Raid Precautions for publication. The first article is printed below and others will follow in subsequent issues:—

Air Raid Precautions.

The People for the People.

Measures to minimize the results of an air raid cannot be improvised in a few hours or even in a few days. In Europe it took anything from 3—5 years.

Bihar realizes it cannot wait till the first bomb drops on its industrial centres and large cities. Committees to plan and organize measures for protection against air attack have been set up in various areas.

The District Magistrate is the President of the Area Control Committee, the members of which include representatives of local bodies, leading citizens and experts. In planning the organization the Area Committee will be assisted by sub-committees which will evolve detailed plans for an efficient organization and the training of A. R. P. personnel and citizens to face, with calmness and courage, any attack, which God forbid, may be launched from the skies. There is a great deal to be done and the time may be short.

Every one must help.

Decentralization is essential in all A. R. P. mea-

sures. The city, or area, will be divided for better control and supervision into Divisions, divisions into sectors and sectors into posts. Each post will be in charge of a Head Warden with a second warden for relief purposes. Head Wardens will be assisted by wardens. The warden organization aims at having some one for each group of houses to whom the residents can look for instruction and guidance. The wardens will render all assistance to people living in their charge. They will have many responsible duties to perform both before, during and after an air raid. Wardens will live in their respective charges.

Divisional and sector wardens are responsible for co-ordinating all measures and arrangements in their respective areas.

A chief warden will be appointed to be in charge of the whole warden organization. He will be responsible for its efficiency.

In addition to the warden organization, various other services, each under a warden are essential, viz.,

- (1) *The Medical Service.*—It needs no stressing that this service will play an important role. The Committee will arrange for 1st Aid posts throughout the area so that persons, who receive injuries, can receive immediate treatment. It is hoped that private practitioners and owners of Medical Halls and dispensaries will offer their surgeries for use as 1st Aid posts. It is essential to have as many posts as possible so that minor injuries can be attended to elsewhere than at the hospitals which may be too busy with serious cases. First Aid volunteers will be re-

required to work in these posts and in ambulances carrying serious cases to the hospital. Students and members of Scout organizations can usefully do this noble work. The ladies of the town can assist in many ways in helping at the hospital, or relieving accommodation in hospitals by taking into their houses convalescent children and less serious cases of illness.

- (2) *The Fire Services*—The great danger from air attack is fire, caused by incendiary bombs. Modern aeroplanes can drop 1000 of these at a time. If they are not dealt with promptly most Indian cities will be a mass of ashes in a very short time. Volunteers for the Fire fighting machines, fire observers and fire patrols are wanted.
- (3) *Rescue Work*.—Building in which people have taken refuge may collapse. It will be necessary to dig them out and, if necessary, hand them over to the 1st Aid personnel for treatment. Persons with some knowledge of building and construction work are wanted.
- (4) *Transport and Communication*.—A. R. P. measures depend for their efficient and prompt working on transport and adequate communications. Vehicles—motor, horse or bullock drawn—are wanted for the various services. Owners may volunteer for any service and, as far possible, will be allotted to the service selected.

Messengers, car, cycle and foot are wanted in case the telephones fail. It is vital for the chief warden to receive information and enable him to take action.

There is a place for all in the organization.

Volunteers are wanted.

MAN IN INDIA.

Vol. XXI. } October—Decem., 1941. } No. 4.

I. THE MEANING OF THE COWRIE IN BASTAR.

By

VERRIER ELWIN.

A discussion in *Man* inaugurated by Dr. M. A. Murray has revealed considerable difference of opinion among scholars as to the meaning of the shell *Cyprea moneta*. Before proceeding to examine its use and importance in Bastar State, it may be convenient to summarise briefly the views that have been proposed.

There are four main positions—that the cowrie represents the human eye and is chiefly a charm against the Evil Eye; that it is a sex symbol representing the vulva; that it is used simply for decorative or utilitarian purposes; and that it is a surrogate of life and important chiefly for its vitalising power. Dr. Murray is the leader of those who believe that the cowrie stands for an eye, half-closed with the eye-lashes on either side. In support of this view other writers have pointed out that, for example, in Assam, Borneo and Melanesia cowries do duty as eyes 'in the first instance in carved representations of the human figure, in the latter two in reconstructed heads built up on skulls'.¹ Among the Tiv in Nigeria, 'in many of the

¹ J. H. Hutton (*Man*, XL, 288).

the sacred voice-disguisers which personate the dead and are fashioned to resemble human heads two cowries are fixed in the wax to look like eyes'.² They were also inserted into the orbits of mummies to represent eyes.³

The cowrie pendant is common in the Near East and Scandinavia as a charm against the Evil Eye,⁴ and its use for this purpose is notorious throughout India. Crooke remarks that the cowrie, when worn as a protective, has such sympathy with its wearer that it cracks when the Evil Eye falls on it.⁵

Another school of thought, however, regards the cowrie as a fertility symbol, as 'essentially a female charm, founded on the supposed likeness between the human vulva and the opening of the shell when set upright'.⁶ Evidence has been assembled from Egypt, Senegal, Syria, old Japan, the British Cameroons, and elsewhere in support of this contention. Elliot Smith first proposed the theory of the 'magical uses of the cowrie as a "life-giver", an image of "the one entrance into life" closely associated with parturition and other fecundity cults'.⁷ Against this Dr. Murray argues that the cowrie charm is worn as frequently by men and other male animals as by women; she has produced a battle helmet of a Formosan warrior decorated with cowries which 'are here used merely as luck charms, for no warrior would go into battle wearing the representations of the female genitalia';⁸ she be-

² C. K. Meek (*Man*, XL, 78).

³ Grafton Elliot Smith, quoted by M. D. W. Jeffreys (*Man*, XL, 79).

⁴ M. E. Durham (*Man*, XLI, 13).

⁵ Quoted by W. V. Grigson (*Man*, XL, 187).

⁶ M. A. Murray (*Man*, XXXIX, 165).

⁷ Kurt Singer (*Man*, XL, 61).

⁸ M. A. Murray (*Man*, XL, 188).

lieves that the cowrie could never have been used as currency had it been regarded as representing the vulva. 'All anthropologists know that there exists a feeling of repulsion among most Eastern and early peoples against touching a woman's genitalia with the hand; even the representation would not be touched'. On the other hand, if the cowrie was simply a good-luck charm against the Evil Eye, its use in barter can be easily understood as preventing bad luck in buying and selling.

Mr. W. V. Grigson, a former Administrator of Bastar State, seems to believe that the cowrie is simply a form of decoration, used for this purpose in the same way that current silver coins are used. He says that he has seldom seen women wearing cowries in the Central Provinces, but mentions Korku women in Betul who wear necklaces of cowries arranged in clusters of three with red and blue glass beads in the centre of the clusters making them resemble flowers. In addition to its use as an ornament, the cowrie serves as a charm against the Evil Eye.⁹

The very common use of the cowrie in graves suggests that it may have been regarded as possessing a magical vitalising power 'to ensure the continuance of the deceased's existence, i. e not merely life but resurrection. The association of cowrie-shells with pregnancy is found as far away as India and Japan'.¹⁰

Finally Mr. J. H. Driberg has attempted to reconcile these various opinions by suggesting that the cowrie is a symbol of the vulva, not *qua* vulva, but of the vulva as a surrogate of 'Energy or Power, regard-

⁹ W. V. Grigson (*Man*, XL, 187).

¹⁰ T. Sheppard (*Man*, XI, 200).

ed as a life-giving Force'. This means that the cowrie becomes 'effective in any life-giving capacity, whether it be fertility, spiritual immortality, or prophylaxis against the Evil Eye'. Since it represents the Life Force, and not simply the vulva, it may be worn by both sexes and touched with the hand. The fact that the cowrie is frequently to be found among the impedimenta of sorcerers proves 'that it should not be regarded as a special prophylaxis against the Evil Eye, but as a conveyor of natural power'. Another significant point is the association of cowries and gold—another life-giving surrogate—both in Egypt and in China.¹¹

How far does the use of the cowrie in Bastar correspond to any of these suggestions? In the first place let us note that the cowrie is still extensively used for decoration, as a charm, for ritual purposes and in gambling throughout the State. Not long ago I saw cowries being sold in the Palnar bazaar (Dantewara Tahsil). There are still many of the older generation who remember when the shell was used as currency and for paying taxes.

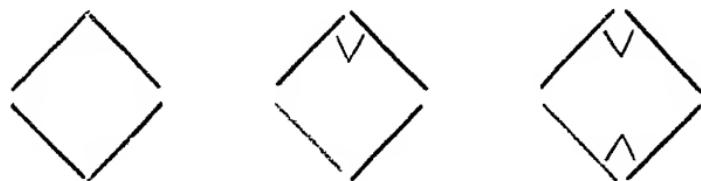
The cowrie is used as a charm against the Evil Eye, though I have not found anyone who regards it as representing or even resembling the human eye. Necklaces of cowries combined with the *semecarpus anacardium*, Linn are tied round the necks of babies or round any injured or painful part of the body. A cowrie is often strung round the necks of animals to protect them, and more especially the Banjara gypsies decorate their gelded bullocks which have to travel abroad and may thus easily meet hostile magic on the

¹¹ J. H. Driberg (*Man*, XL, 208).

way. Among the Hindus and Hinduised aborigines there is a special association with the Evil Eye ; but among the wilder aborigines the cowrie is regarded simply as a useful charm which may be effective in preventing or even curing disease. At Mokhpal (Dantewara Tahsil) I was told by the Bison Horn Marias that they offered cowries to any Rau which troubled them, and that when a man was very ill and unable to eat, the local magician waved a cowrie round his head seven times. In the Dhurwa country I found a custom of offering five cowries at the village boundary with rice and flowers in a small bamboo litter at the end of a small-pox epidemic in order to purify the village of whatever evil spirits were troubling it. Sometimes a cowrie is tied to a shoe and hung up on a tree outside the village with the same purpose. Medicine-men in the Bhopalpatnam area are reported as using the cowrie for charming the poison out of a snake-bite. The Bastar evidence, therefore, seems to suggest that the cowrie is a useful protection against evil spirits (which are the usual source of disease), but is not specially associated with prophylaxis against the Evil Eye.

Do any of the *Bastar* aborigines associate the cowrie with the vulva ? If they did, we would expect to find the shell used in this sense in their riddles. But neither in *Bastar*, nor in my collection of Gond, Baiga, Agaria and Pardhan riddles from the Central Provinces, have I found a single reference to the cowrie, though there are many symbols used for the female genitalia. None of these peoples, in fact, think that the cowrie looks like the vulva. The Murias of *Bastar* often make representations of the vulva on

their tobacco-pouches, on wooden head-rests used in the village dormitory, on the pillars of the dormitories and the shrines of the gods, on combs given to girls, on the sheaths of knives and sometimes on tree trunks in the forest. The Baigas do the same on trees, and I have three curious pillars made by a Gond of Mandla (apparently simply for amusement) which show different types of breast and vulva. In everyone of these the shape given to the vulva is unlike that suggested by the slit of the cowrie. It is like this:—



In very small carvings on tobacco pouches the clitoris is omitted, but otherwise it is always present and sometimes even a double clitoris is shown. Another point that causes the aborigines of Central India to fail to recognise the vulva in the cowrie is that they almost always insist on the depilation of the pubic hairs. It is only witches and women who possess the dreaded (and mythical) *Vagina Dentata* that retain their pubic hairs. The cowrie therefore would be the symbol of something dangerous and abnormal, if it was connected with the vulva.

The Murias, however, seem to have no objection to handling representations of the vulva on their tobacco-pouches and combs.

The cowrie is chiefly used in Bastar as an ornament. The attractive cowrie belt is very common (I do not agree with Grigson, in *Man*, XL, 187, that it is dying out). The cowrie ornament of the bison-horn dancing

head-dress is usually made by Banjara women and purchased from them by the Marias. This head-dress is usually worn at wedding dances and the cowries may serve some additional magic purpose. Cowries are used to decorate, sometimes, the dancing shield of the Hill Marias. In the elaborate and delightful festal dress of the Murias of the Abujhmar foothills, large numbers of cowries are used. Strings of them hang as streamers from the head-dress ; other streamers depend from the ornamented and horned sticks carried over the shoulder at a festival. They hang in little bunches with bells from the waist ; they form part of the bead necklaces. Girls wear great bunches of cowries in the hair. Near Kondagaon, Muria girls use cymbals attached to each other by long double strings of cowries.

On the whole, however, the cowrie is much more common as a male adornment, and married women never wear the bunches of cowries in their hair. In North Bastar I have seen the cowrie jacket worn by Muria dancers at weddings, and in Mandla and Saranggarh State I have seen Dhulias and Pankas wearing the cowrie jacket, cowrie bracelets, cowrie armlets and cowrie belts. These decorations were again chiefly for use at weddings,—occasions when special care has to be exercised against witch and warlock.

The ritual use of the cowrie in Bastar is interesting. Either at an engagement or during the marriage ceremony, a number of cowries (varying according to the clan) is given to a Muria girl's parents to be placed in the Pot of the Departed in token of the fact that she has now left the clan of her ancestors and

joined that of her husband. In the old days, the bridegroom gave a handful of cowries to the village dormitory in which his bride used to live. The curious Anga Deo, or clan-gods of the Murias, are often tied up with a few cowries, and in the Muria village of Masora I recently saw the magician's chair and the litter of Danteshwari Mata both decorated with these shells. Where there is a supply of cowries available, most of the Bastar aborigines throw a handful into the grave. Last year I witnessed a Muria funeral near the Abujhmar Mountains when cowries were tied on either side of the cloth that covered the corpse. At a Muria festival of the eating of the new mangoes, I saw the headman place an offering of a ring and a cowrie by the roadside in order that the soul of his father who had died since the previous festival might go safely to join his ancestors. In parts of Bastar, pice are now used instead of cowries, suggesting that the real meaning of the rite was simply to provide the dead with money for their journey.

The cowrie is associated in Bastar with divination. The *siraha*-mediums among the Murias and Dhurwas and the Marias of Dantewara (where I have recorded it, and no doubt elsewhere) use old coloured Banjara jackets liberally decorated with cowries when they are intending to fall into trance and interpret the will of the gods. I have seen these jackets on sale in the bazaar, and purchased one myself without difficulty. At Muria weddings in the south of the Jagdalpur Tahsil, I am told by Mr. A. N. Mitchell, I. C. S., 'a heap of cowries is placed before the bride and bridegroom, and the bride and groom each take up a hand-

ful. These cowries are then counted. If two cowries are picked up by either couple, it is considered to be a sign that they will quarrel and not live happily. If three are picked up, it is a sign that the bride will marry a second time; if four or five are picked up, it is believed that the couple will live happily. If both bride and bridegroom pick up the same number of cowries, this is regarded as double evidence of what the individual numbers indicate; but if they pick up different numbers it is supposed to mean that one or the other will die, or that they will separate or remarry'.

It may be noted that the cowrie jacket worn for divination is a woman's jacket.

The beautiful 'Lakshmi-casket' illustrated in A. C. Mookerjee's *Folk Art of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1939), Plate XXIX, is a remarkable example of the more highly developed use of the cowrie in ornamentation. The basket is made of cane and is covered with three lines of cowries; in the first and third lines the cowries are arranged vertically, and in the second horizontally. Flowers made of cowries are 'placed one after another in a cyclic order'. The whole pattern is stitched with thread on red cloth mounted on a bamboo structure. Unfortunately we are not told the purpose of the casket, so I cannot say whether the cowries are purely ornamental or have some magical purpose.

I will briefly notice a few other uses of the shell. To the Hindus of Bastar, and no doubt elsewhere, the cowrie is associated with the goddess of wealth, Maha-

lakshmi. A cowrie is often printed at the foot of pictures of this goddess, and at Divali the worshippers of Lakshmi gamble with cowries as counters. I am told that in some Hindu marriages, bride and bridegroom gamble with cowries and that the shell is always useful to the professional gambler.

In the south-west of the State, I am told, the villagers burn cowries in order to convert them into lime, which they mix with the tobacco they eat. The lime so made is sometimes mixed with water or lemon juice and dropped into the ear to cleanse any abrasion there.

In a bazaar in Sarangarh State, I saw cowries attached to the end of the long strings which held fighting maina birds. These birds were made to fight and bets were taken on the result. The cowries may either have been to ensure good luck or they may simply have been a convenient way of holding the end of the string. In Bastar a cowrie is sometimes tied round the neck of a bird or other domestic pet.

In Bastar, I conclude, the cowrie is certainly not regarded as a representation of the vulva nor as a fertility charm; it does not even appear to be specially directed against the Evil Eye. But its association with the currency, its growing rarity and importance as a symbol of old time, its connection with the Banjara gypsies, have given it in the eyes of Maria and Muria, Dhurwa and Bhattra the significance of a magic charm which is also very useful as an ornament. The cowrie decorations worn at a wedding are not only valuable because they make the wearer attractive but they may also save him from the supernatural perils that threaten those who take part in such occasions.

II. THE PREHISTORIC CULTURE OF BENGAL.

By

H. C. CHAKLADAR, M. A.

I.

The culture of Bengal coincides in essential points with the general culture complex of India, and India forms a province of an extensive culture area that covers the whole of

Culture Zones civilised Asia and includes even a part of northern Africa; and the basic character of this culture may be described as socio-religious, as distinguished from the culture-type of Eur-America which is socio-economic.

Archaeological and sociological investigations have demonstrated that man's "culture began with the first distinctly human group whose cradle-land was most certainly Asia"¹; and although a wonderful unity marks the initial stages of man's cultural evolution from the banks of the Thames and the Tagus to the terraces flanking the Damodar and the Godavari, yet through the millenniums that have intervened since the epoch of lithic implements, the Orient and the Occident had been marching along different courses, until at the threshold of the Modern Age they stood wide apart. But culture is never static, and with improved facilities of transport and communication, we find that the two are converging, and especially at the present day Eur-American culture is invading the most secluded corners of Asia.

¹ Wissler, C., *Man and Culture*, 1923, p. 38.

Inside the Asiatic culture-domain where the stamp of unity is unmistakable in fundamental features, there exist, no doubt, differences in culture traits in each distinct geographical area, and the culture of India possesses remarkable characters that distinguish it from that of the rest of Asia; and inside the bounds of India itself, it is not difficult to recognize that the whole sub-continent is made up of several cultural provinces whose limit-lines are not always conterminous with political boundaries, and which, while sharing in the total culture complex of India, yet are marked out from each other by subordinate details in the habits and activities of life.

Bengal, the evolution of whose culture we here propose to investigate, forms one such culture-province, and an example or two, from **Bengal a distinct Province of the Indian Culture Area** its socio-religious life, will serve to illustrate this provincial diversity in the midst of Indian unity. In Bengal,

for example, the family organization is patriarchal, and succession is patrilineal, in common with the rest of Aryan-speaking India; but while in most of the other provinces the sons acquire a lien on the family property as soon as they are born, whether the father is living or dead, in Bengal they cannot put forward any such claim in the life-time of the father. In another sphere of life, in the matter of religious worship, we find that the Bengalis, in agreement with the rest of Hindu India, worship the various incarnations of Vishnu and Siva, but it is the female deities, manifestations of the Supreme Mother—such as Durgā, Kālī, Chāndī, Jagaddhātrī, Annapūrnā, Lakshmī, Sarasvatī,

Manasā, Sītalā, Shashṭhī and a number of others—who occupy the most prominent place in Bengal's folk-religion ; and especially, the worship of the Great Mother as Durgā, with a protracted ceremonial, is a unique feature of the religious life of Bengal.

This culture-area of Bengal includes within its compass the whole of the region occupied by the Bengali-speaking population extending from the Himalayas to the sea, and from the Eastern hills to the outer spurs of the Vindhya-s, covering the modern British province of Bengal and a great part of Assam and Chota Nagpur. With this zone of culture are associated Mithila or Tirhut in the north-west and Orissa in the south-west.

In our investigations on the culture of the Bengalis, we must modify the ordinary conception of a cultural unit as centred round political unity, speech uniformity, or geographical continuity, and should include the total assemblage of the trait complexes of the group, that is, the entire aggregate of distinct modes of behaviour, of actions, sentiments or attitudes that are found to be common among the members of the group. These may be associated with material objects, such as food, dress, habitation, mean of transport, tools, weapons, occupations etc., or with institutions such as marriage, inheritance, social control, religious practices, or with laws governing property, government or war, with language and art, and so on and so forth—in fact, with all that makes up its life. Slight variations may sometimes occur in sub-groups, in particular families, or in particular localities, but careful examination will, in most cases, reveal that they are imma-

terial deviations round a central idea, non-essential divergences from the culture norm.

How does this culture originate? Originally, no doubt, by invention by the members of the cultural unit; and invention is determined, in

Factors that determine Culture— the first place, by environment, i. e.

Environment the milieu in the midst of which a people finds itself placed by nature.

Natural resources and climatic conditions stimulate invention and direct it in a particular channel, so as to solve the particular problems of life that face them in the struggle for existence. Moreover, biological investigations are gradually demonstrating how the physical environment, the world without, is a powerful factor in the organic life of the world, how it can contribute to variations in man's bodily equipment, and may even influence the nervous and mental machinery, so as to lead to the development of specific trait complexes.² The mild atmosphere and low, open plains of the delta of the Ganges cannot be expected to produce the culture complex of the pastoral wanderers of the arid uplands of Central Asia. The network of rivers and streams that cut up the plains of Bengal led to the invention of many types of boats for water transport, and the neighbourhood of the sea made them build larger vessels and take to maritime navigation, while the jurists glorying within the Vedic Midland, were vehemently decrying voyages on the sea.³ Even the diseases that emanate from his swamps has no little effect on the culture of the Ben-

² Wissler, op. cit., pp. 314-318.

³ Baudhāyana, *Dharmasūtra*, II. 1, 2.

gali. Speaking on the extreme importance of plants and animals that cause diseases with regard to human evolution, Prof. J. B. S. Haldane observes, "If it were not for the activity of the hookworm and the malaria parasite, the Bengalis might, for all we know, have been as warlike a people as the Mahrattas, and perhaps less intellectual than they are".⁴ The torrential showers of Bengal (60 to 100 inches in the year) made the people build their houses with arched roofs of bamboo and straw with a bulge at the centre and slopes on all sides, while their confreres of the Punjab, with the modicum of three to ten inches of rain in the year, build their homes of mud and wattle with flat roofs of clay. It must be admitted, however, that natural environment may not always act as a directly determining factor with regard to a particular invention, or the development of a particular institution, but the cultural activity of a people in other respects may exercise a great influence upon it.⁵

There is a second great factor that shapes and moulds the culture of a people, viz. its racial character.

Heredity It is often observed that two different sets of men placed in the same or a similar setting, would approach the same problems of life in different ways, finding and adopting different solutions; that individuals of distinct genetic descent but living under the same environmental conditions do not always function exactly alike, physiologically or mentally;⁶ in fact, under

⁴ Haldane, J. B. S., *Anthropology and Human Biology*, Man, 1934, 163.

⁵ Kroeber, A. L., *Anthropology*, New York, 1923, p. 182.

* Wissler, op. cit., pp. 291-301.

the same environmental circumstances, they would be developing culture traits in divergent directions. It is being held by some, though not yet on incontrovertible scientific evidence, that essential differences exist in the life equipment of different groups of mankind with different racial heredity, that there are variations in the mechanism that is responsible for the production of culture complexes, in the efficiency of man's nervous machinery, that by biological evolution some groups of men may differ from others in mental reactions and emotional tone, in quickness, accuracy, and intensity of response to natural environment.⁷ Though it is difficult to establish, in the case of every feature in a culture complex to what degree heredity is its specific cause or determining factor, yet it cannot be denied that racial differences do exist.⁸ This racial complex gives a people some of the most conservative and stubborn qualities of its character. For example, it is held that the worship of Sakti, or the 'Mother', is due to the presence of the so-called Mediterranean racial element in the composition of the people of Bengal; while not very far from them, on the banks of the Irrawaddy, under almost similar environmental conditions, a people of a clearly distinct genetic descent have evolved a widely different religious outlook. Petrie also observes, in regard to another aspect of culture, "Distinct styles of crafts-

⁷⁻⁸ Kroeber, op. cit., p. 180. Besides the blood group determinations, there are beginning to be accumulated of late years a few data on racial differences in endocrine gland functioning, which seem to show a lower thyroidal action and metabolic rate in Mongolians than in Caucasians. In the present state of our knowledge, however, "it seems best to refrain from generalisations". Kroeber, *Anthropology*, Supplement, 1933, p. 12.

manship are not mere matters of caprice, but real symptoms of racial character clung to with utmost passionate conservatism".⁹

We need not enter into the complexities of the as yet inconclusive discussions over the comparative merits of environment and race in building up the entire culture complex of a people, but we have to recognize, as the ultimate result of all the discussions on both sides, that culture is a resultant of these two variables, *environment* and *race*. In an intensive study, therefore, of the culture contents of the Bengali people, it will be helpful to form, so far as the racial investigations up to date will enable us, a correct idea of their racial components, of the various ethnic elements that have entered into a compound to build up the people whose culture we propose to investigate.

If the Bengalis were dependent on their own invention only for their culture, they would not have been much superior to the Austra-

Growth of Culture by Imitation lians with whom the aboriginal dwellers of the country are said to have physical affinity. It has been found that the most potent factor in the growth and amplification of the culture of a community is the imitation of its neighbours, the absorption of habits and traits invented by other groups of his fellow-men in other parts of the world. Culture is always dynamic, it possesses a natural tendency to diffusion in all directions from the centre of its origin. It has been said that "a trait of

⁹ Petrie, Sir Flinders, *Discovering the Unknown Past*, in Universal History of the World, ed. by J. A. Hammerton, Vol. I, p. 34,

culture is about as contagious as the measles".¹⁰ It travels much faster than blood, that is, than the physical transformation of the people themselves by actual immigration.

If a people, however highly gifted it be, lives in isolation, cut off from contact with other groups of its fellow-beings by natural or artificial **Evils of Isolation** barriers, its total culture would be of poor contents; for example, in

Kafiristan, we find a fairly gifted people resting content with their proto-Aryan culture, isolated in a secluded valley of the Hindu Kush. In the Todas of the Nilgiris again, we come face to face with an Indian people, tall and sturdy, with regular Caucasic features that any Aryan people would be proud of, and both physically as well as culturally quite unlike any of the peoples that surround them down below in the plains, preserving intact, no one knows for how many centuries or millenniums, their pristine culture centered round the buffalo. A very good example of a highly civilised group of men hemming themselves in within artificial self-erected walls, is that of a group of Vedio Aryans who, glorying within the Doab between the Ganges and the Jumna, developed a narrow superiority complex of their purity, obsessed themselves with the idea that they were the only Aryans in the world, and prescribed Draconic laws providing that any one of themselves who stepped outside that narrow strip of earth, or ventured on the sea, would have to keep standing for the day and sitting for the night, for a whole year, and besides, to punish himself in other

¹⁰ Wissler, op. cit., p. 102.

ways, to make amends for his temerity.¹¹ Fortunately for Indian culture the people with this mentality formed but an insignificant fraction of the Vedic Aryans. We shall come to this topic in fuller detail below.

There are forces, however, that withstand an unlimited diffusion of culture elements. The mental

activity or psychological character
Limitation of Diffusion of the people to whom a new culture trait is presented, plays a great role

in its dissemination. They must be psychologically adapted to receive it; otherwise it is likely to be rejected. And if culture is forcibly introduced among a people not so adapted, it leads to disastrous consequences. The intrusion of Eur-American culture everywhere, in Australia, in Africa, in America, is being followed by the quick extinction of the native population, while the slow and silent absorption of the Hindu culture of Bengal by tribes at a comparatively low stage of cultural development, like the Santal, Munda, Kol, Ho, Kharia and other cognate tribes on its south-western, and the Garo, Kachari, Tipra, Kuki, Chakma, and others on its eastern frontiers, has not only kept them alive, but has been producing lasting benefits to both the communities concerned. This process of natural diffusion by unobtrusive infiltration, without any organized effort of the parties concerned, that has been going on for hundreds of years ever since civilisation dawned on the banks of the Lower Ganges, and is yet far from complete, has led to a

¹¹ Chakladar, H. C., *Problems of the Racial Compositions of the Indian Peoples*, Presidential Address at the 23rd Indian Science Congress, Proceedings, pp. 369-376.

distinct uplift of the primitive peoples, and has been making highly desirable additions to the culture of the civilised community.

In the history of Bengal, we have also examples of organized diffusion by conscious effort,—by trade, colonization, proselytism, or conquest ; of the first, we have an illustration in the spread of the art and religion of Bengal to the islands in the Indian Ocean, and even as far as Japan. Of a great missionary activity of the Bengali, we have before us the great work done by Atisa Dipankara in introducing Buddhism into Tibet in early times, and in very recent times, in the conversion of the Meitheis of Manipur to the Vaishnavism of Sri Chaitanya by the Goswami preachers of the Adwaita family. Of culture diffusion by conquest, we have an early example in the military expedition of Vijaya to Ceylon, and we are told that some elements of Bengali culture are still discernible in the speech and other traits of the Sinhalese people.

The geographical situation of Bengal, its topographical features, have helped in the infiltration of culture from without, and the dissemination of culture from within. The valley of the Ganges has served as a great artery for the inflow of culture from the West since the Glacial Age down to modern times. The lofty mountain ranges to the north are intersected by passes through which Bengal has sent out her culture to the high plateau beyond, and the route by the ocean has been utilised by the intrepid mariners of the Bengal coast for the diffusion of Bengali civili-

**Bengal as a focus
of Culture Diffusion**

sation to the distant islands. The forbidding hills and the apparently impenetrable forests in the east have not prevented Mongoloid races from reaching the outskirts of her plains, and we have reasons to believe that the eastern borderland was comparatively free from these obstructions and offered a rather easy passage to some of the early waves of men seeking to come in, or to pass out of, India.

The history of our social institutions must, therefore, take into its cognizance all those various series of causes that have produced them, acting through the thousands of years that separate the present age from the ancient world, through the long ages that social conventions have taken to crystallise and social traditions to form. It must endeavour to discover the multi-coloured threads that have been woven into the complex fabric of Bengal society. An ideal method of approach to the study of our social history would be to take up each institution by itself, as it is at the present moment, and trace it backward to its ultimate sources; but we do not possess any exact knowledge of our culture contents, any accurate ethnological data. Barring the pioneer work of Sir Herbert Risley,¹² hardly any systematic attempts have been made for the scientific collection of the actual facts of the social life of Bengal. In the absence of such a preliminary survey, the present work is bound to be unsatisfactory; yet an attempt is being made here with the hope that attention may be drawn to its importance, and the subject more fully treated by future workers.

¹² Risley, H. H., *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, two vols., Calcutta, 1891.

The social history of Bengal must begin with the advent of man into the country. Man is an animal with strong herding instincts, and the history of his social life, therefore, naturally begins not with the period when he himself began to record his thoughts and experiences in writing with definite intelligible symbols, but goes back to the dim past when he had just emerged as a rational animal. In spite of the remote antiquity of this epoch, it is not impossible to reconstitute a fairly accurate picture of Man's life and activities from the evidence afforded by his relics. Wherever Man lived, he had to appease his hunger, to collect food, to design and use tools to make the food fit for consumption ; and the debris of his feasts, the bones or shells of the animals he fed upon, sometimes accompanied by the remains of his own skeletal frame, have been petrified by nature and preserved against decomposition or destruction ; besides, his discarded tools and ornaments invented even in that dawn age to satisfy his aesthetic cravings, lie embedded in the floors that he trod upon. With these documents to help him, the archaeologist can piece together a history of the evolution of Man's culture hardly less accurate than the story of periods nearer our own times. At the earliest stage of culture, Man was laying the foundation of his future greatness, and this period of apprenticeship in the school of nature was far from being a very short one. An idea of its duration and character may best be given in the words of Sir Arthur Keith, an eminent authority whose estimate, it may be said, errs rather on the side of moderation than of exaggeration. "The period of

**Social History
begins with
advent of Man**

natural living", says Keith, "When Man was dependent on what fell to him from Nature's table, covers hundreds of thousands of years. Exactly how many we cannot yet tell, but everyone who has studied the evidence is convinced that this period of Man's existence covered at least half a million of years. This immense stretch of time represents the wilderness traversed by mankind in its evolutionary exodus to the promised land of today. It was Man's formative period; it was then that he came by his characteristic brain, his qualities of mind, his intuitions, and his inborn predispositions. As he climbed the ladder of civilisation, his steps becoming ever faster and longer, he brought with him the mental inheritance gained in the 'Old Stone' wilderness".¹³

In Bengal, the area of low flat plains which have been built up since the early years of the Pleistocene epoch by a deposit for ages of heavy loads of alluvium borne down from the great mountain ranges in the north, and which continues to receive this deposit year after year even now, cannot be expected to retain the evidences of human habitation for any length of time, so that if Man lived here in the remote past, the relics, even if not decomposed by heat and moisture, would lie deep under the surface cover of silt beyond the ken of archaeologists. But this wide plains area of alluvial deposits of a thickness of 1800 feet or more below the level of the ground surface,¹⁴ is flanked on the east by hills which the water does

¹³ Keith, Sir Arthur, *Racial Spirit as a Force in History*, in *Un. His. I*, p. 310.

¹⁴ Coulson, Mem. Geol. Sur. India, 1940. Wadia, D. N., *Geology of India*, London, 1939; p. 283.

not reach, and in the south-west is touched by the north-eastern fringe of the Deccan plateau, one of the most ancient formations on the surface of our globe; the area including the Rajmahal Hills, the Damodar Valley, the Ranigunge coal-fields make up an extension of the ancient Gondwana-land which, geologists hold on good evidence, "either through one continuous southern continent, or through a series of land-bridges or isthmian links, extended from South America to India, and united within the same borders the Malay Archipelago and Australia, the presence of (these) land connections in the southern world for a long succession of ages, permitted an unrestricted migration of its animal and plant inhabitants within its confines",¹⁵ although Man could not possibly have come upon the scene until large segments of the continent had "drifted away or subsided permanently under the ocean".¹⁶ However that may be, these areas, which "Coggin-Brown properly calls "*the Highlands of Bengal*",¹⁷ and also "*Greater Bengal*",¹⁸ have been found to retain ample evidences of ancient culture that must have functioned in the building up of the civilisation of our province.

Col. Seymour Sewell who in 1929, summarised, from the stand-point of India, our present knowledge about the origin of Man, lent his support to the theory that "the first connection between India and the

¹⁵ Wadia, D. N., *Geology of India*, London, 1939; p. 123.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 124.

¹⁷ Brown, J. C., *Catalogue Raisonne of the Prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum at Calcutta*, ed. by Sir John Marshall, 1917; p. 123.

¹⁸ *J. B. O. R. S.*, I, 1915, p. 125

rest of continental Asia in the middle of the Tertiary epoch, must have been on the east, and it was from the east that about this period the vertebrate fauna of India poured into the Himalayan region and the country to the south ; and probably with, or following on, the inroad of the vertebrates, came *Man* and those closely related forms *Dryopithecus* and *Sivapithecus*¹⁹, that is, varieties of the higher apes whose fossilised remains have been discovered in the sedimentary beds of the Siwaliks. "The first immigrants", Sewell continues, "coming, as they almost certainly did, from the north-east,...must have been brachycephalic (that is, round-headed) and of the Negrito stock"²⁰ that is, like the modern Andamanese. Dr. J. H. Hutton also claims to have discovered some Negrito-looking features among some of the Naga tribes, particularly in the North Cachar hills, and also cultural indications of a former Negrito population in that area ; he thinks that the use of the simple bow as opposed to the crossbow may be of Negrito origin in this area. But an equatorial area of origin for the Negrito is more popular among scientists, and Hutton also admits that the evidence of a former Negrito population in Assam is not very clear.²¹ However, if this oldest type of human beings came to the Assam hills towards the middle of the Tertiary epoch of the geologists, as Sewell suggests, they could not have found the region

¹⁹ Sewell, R. B. S., *The Origin of Man and the Population of India in the Past and the Future*, Presidential Address of the Section of Anthropology, 16th I. S. Congress, 1929, Proceedings, pp. 337-363.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 359-60.

²¹ Hutton, J. H., *A Negrito Substratum in the Population of Assam, Man in India*, Vol. VII, 1927, pp. 257-262.

occupied later by the plains of Bengal very inviting as places of habitation, as these were in the course of formation towards the very end of the epoch,—“the beginning of its very last chapter”, from the Pleistocene and Sub-Recent deposits of the numerous rivers running down from the northern mountains.²²

“The next invasion”, adds Sewell, “that appears to have taken place, also seems to have come from the north-east, and this second invasion was, in all probability, part of a big movement that has left traces of itself in India, in the Naga Hills, and as far afield as Melanesia; and has resulted in our still finding traces, such as the Megalithic culture of certain regions of India, that exhibit a distinct connection with the culture of the Melanesians”.²³ Evidences of Melanesian culture contact with India and especially with the hill region to the east of Bengal, are very clear, but that it took place at this early period is very doubtful; a later infiltration is much more likely.

Leaving aside these half-guessed theories of the origin of Man and his early migrations, we may take up for examination the tangible re-

Old Stone Age Culture of Bengal mains of Man's handicraft that may give us some positive indications of human activities in the area about Bengal. Most of the surviving implements of early man being of stone, the early age of human culture has been called the Stone Age, which again has been divided into two periods—the *Palaeolithic* or Old Stone Age, and the *Neolithic* or New Stone Age, “which mark primary

²² Wadia, op. cit., pp. 282-5.

²³ Sewell, op. cit., p. 360.

difference in materials employed and consequent primary differences in methods of treatment, percussion flaking and pressure chipping being characteristic of the former, while the latter adds pecking, grinding and polishing".²⁴ Palaeolithic implements are rare in the plains for reasons already adverted to before, and in fact, not a single tool of that age has been found in the alluvial portion of the country, but a few were collected in the area of the coal fields which belong, as we have seen, to a very ancient geological formation, viz. the Lower Damuda group of the Gondwana system which corresponds to the Permian Age. This area covers portions of the Districts of Midnapur, Bankura, Burdwan and Birbhum in Bengal proper and of the contiguous portions of Chota Nagpur and Santal Parganas in the highlands.²⁵ It was in association with a spread of pebbles derived from the conglomerates of this system on the Jheria coal-fields, near the village of Kunkune, 11 miles S. W. of Govindapur on the Grand Trunk Road that V. Ball picked up a small boucher of green quartzite. In connection with it Ball says that he "examined on the Jheria coal-fields, various heaps, and spreads of pebbles derived from the conglomerates which are so characteristic of the Lower Damoodah series of rocks".²⁶ He reports another axe of micaceous quartzite found in the Bokhara coal-field in the Hazaribagh district, and a well formed quartzite axe in the Raniganj coal-field in the district of Burdwan on a laterite strewn

²⁴ Nelson, N. C., *Prehistoric Archaeology*, in *General Anthropology* ed. F. Boas, New York, 1938, p. 149.

²⁵ Wadia, op. cit., pp. 131 ff.

²⁶ *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1865, p. 128.

surface. These three found in the coal measures together with a fourth found near the village of Gopinathpur, 11 miles S. S. W. of Beharinath Hill in the District of Bankura are all that was known about Palaeoliths in Bengal area when Ball wrote his paper about them.²⁷

Ball had also collected four Palaeolithic implements from four different localities in Orissa,—Dhenkanal, Angul, Talcher and Orissa and they are of the very same type as those from Bengal.²⁸ Since then a stray tool has been picked up here and there, specially in Chota Nagpur,²⁹ but these tools lying about singly in areas separated from one another, do not represent a Palaeolithic settlement anywhere in the neighbourhood, but they merely show that men of the Old Stone Age had come to these parts in their wanderings in search of game. However, a crowded settlement of Palaeolithic men has been discovered very recently about the highlands of Bengal.

Within the years 1939 and 1940, close upon a thousand tools of the Old Stone Age, bearing a re-

²⁷ Ball, V., *On the Forms and Geographical Distribution of Ancient Stone Implements in India*, Proc. of the Royal Irish Academy, Second Series, Vol. I, 1879 ; pp. 388—414. Brown, op. cit., pp. 67—68. Ball has also given illustrations of these Palaeoliths in his *Jungle Life in India*, London, 1880, pp. 682—3.

²⁸ Ball, V., On Stone Implements from Orissa, *P. A. S. B.* 1876, pp. 122—3. Brown, op. cit., p. 68.

²⁹ "Recently Prof. Farnsides of Sheffield, who came to India in connection with a session of the Indian Science Congress, found a beautiful implement (a handaxe somewhat of Acheulian design) near Chaibassa in Singhbhum. A fine specimen of a handaxe of quartzite rock has been found in Monghyr, by Mr. R. Tagore of Santiniketan". Dharanidhar Sen, *Prehistoric Studies in India*, New Asia, Vol. II, 1940 ; pp. 12—13.

semblance in their general aspect

Large Palaeolithic Settlement In Mayurbhanj with the artifacts of the Lower or Early Palaeolithic Age of South India, have come to light hardly six miles from the political frontier of Bengal, in the State of Mayurbhanj, near about the banks of the stream, Burhabalanga, within an area of ten square miles, in the village of Kuliana and its neighbourhood; only small excavations have been made up to date, and thousands more of tools are awaiting the spade in this region.³⁰ This discovery of a huge hoard, a workshop, as it were, of Palaeolithic implements in the immediate neighbourhood of Bengal, is of immense importance for the history of human culture in Bengal and the adjacent regions at the very dawn of civilisation showing that early Man, wherever he might have originated, had penetrated to Eastern India and fixed his habitation there.

The river Burhabalanga in the valley of which the rich store of artefacts has been discovered, flows through a valley 3 to 5 miles wide

Mayurbhanj Man—his Habitat

Torrents of water flowing down these hills have been washing down a vast number of pebbles on the beds of Archaean rock in the valley below, and these pebbles which had been accumulating

³⁰ The discovery was first made by Mr. P. Acharya, State Archaeologist of Mayurbhanj and Eugene C. Worman (Jr.) in March, 1939. The first collection is located in the Museum at Baripada. Messrs Nirmal Kumar Bose and Dharanidhar Sen, of the Anthropology Department of the Calcutta University, later on collected about 800 tools from this station early in 1940, and they are now engaged in studying them. For a preliminary report, see Nirmal K. Bose, *Prehistoric Researches in Mayurbhanj*, *Science and Culture*, VI, 1940, pp. 75–79.

for a long time, offered inviting material ready at hand to Early Man wherewith to manufacture the tools and weapons so essential for his very existence ; detritus rich in iron from the decomposition of the rocks had in later times been deposited on these terraces and during the long interval between the present age and the time when the Stone Age men abandoned the area, the deposit had turned into compact beds of boulder conglomerate and secondary laterite in which their implements were treasured up, protected against destruction, to be exhumed to tell the story of the lives of those who wielded them, countless centuries after the phase of culture which they represented had vanished from the region.

The scientific classification of this vast hoard of tools used by Mayurbhanj men has not yet been completed, but a preliminary examination

Life of Mayurbhanj Men told by their Tools shows that there are core, pebble and flake tools among them of a great range, including hand-axes, cleavers, choppers, scrapers and pointed awls. The large number of implements found in a small area shows that the settlement must have been populous for the Palaeolithic Age, thus proving that even in that early age men lived in compact communities. The character of the implements which are mostly cutting, piercing, or scraping tools, shows that the Mayurbhanj men might have depended in some measure upon hunting, but their mainstay might have been the collection of nature's vegetable products—fruits, roots, leaves and shrubs. In connection with the Bengal palaeoliths examined by himself, Ball had

observed :³¹ "Although certain forms of the chipped quartzite may have been carried in cleft sticks as battle-axes or weapons of offence or defence against wild animals, I believe that the bulk of them were used for grubbing wild roots out of the ground. Some years ago I paid a good deal of attention to the subject of the jungle products, which afford a means of support to many of the aboriginal races. Besides fruits, leaves and stems, I ascertained that the roots, particularly of several species of dioscorea etc., furnishes a substantial food for several months of every year". Menghin also points out that "the hand-axe is particularly well fitted for dealing with trees and wood, digging up roots, and cultivating the ground".³² Dr. Christoph von Furer Haimendorf who lately investigated the life of the Chenchus who live in the hills and forests of Hyderabad, and form one of the most primitive groups of our jungle folk, found them depending mainly upon root-grubbing in the forests for their livelihood, though their digging sticks had now iron points. He observes : "The majority of the Chenchus living on the upper plateau subsist almost entirely on the fruits, plants and roots, which they are able to collect in the forests, and the daily task of gathering the products eclipses all other means of income. During the cold and the first part of the hot season, the mainstay of Chenchu diet consists of the edible roots, or more precisely, the tubers of various creepers ; some thrive all the year round, while others

³¹ Ball, V., op. cit. Pr. R. Ir. Ac., 1879, p. 398.

³² Menghin, Oswald, *Origin and Development of Early Palaeolithic Cultures*, in *Early Man* ed. George Grant MacCurdy, Philadelphia, 1937, p. 311.

can only be collected during the dry season. It is probable that Chenchu diet, like that of so many other primitive races of tropical region, was always mainly vegetable, only occasionally bettered by the flesh of hunted animals. They relegate the chase to its present secondary role in the quest for food".³³

Other observers, however, would attach greater importance to hunting in man's life in the early ages. Writing about the contemporaries of our Kuliana men in the Valley of the Narbada, using the same stone tools and living in surroundings having the same ecological value, De Terra observes :

"In prehistoric times, man was primarily a hunter of big game, living either on the open terraces of the stream or on promontories that rose above the wilderness, which must have teemed with life. Even in our days this region constitutes one of the great hunting grounds of India ; its forests and thickets are the abode of large cats, bear, gaur, deer, and black buck, and the river teems with edible fish and crocodiles. This fauna is essentially indigenous, and many of its ancestors lie buried in the Pleistocene river drift in association with other mammals such as elephant, hippopotamus, horse, and rhinoceros, which enriched the pursuit of big game for palaeolithic man. Indeed, here he must have been in his element, living on the edge of jungle-clad hills and on the very route which migratory herds of ruminants might have taken to

³³ Fürer-Haimendorf, Dr. Christoph von, *Seasonal Nomadism and Economics of the Chenchus of Haiderabad*, JRASB, 1941. Dr. Furer-Haimendorf lived among the Chenchus with his wife and interpreter for ethnological study.

gain the northern plains in periods of drought".³⁴

As the same forest zone in almost unbroken continuity extends across Central India from the Narbada to the highlands of Bengal, there can be no doubt that our men on the Burhabalanga had also the same wild contemporaries about their habitations, as those whose presence in the Indian fauna has been incontestably proved by the occurrence of their petrified bones lying side by side with Palaeolithic implements of almost exactly the same form and type as those of Kuliana; for example, the valleys of the Narbada³⁵ and the Indus³⁶ have yielded, in the same horizon as Abbevillian-Acheulian implements like those of Mayurbhanj, also the fossilized bones of the following denizens of the forest:—the tiger (*Felis*) hyaena and the formidable sabre-toothed tiger now extinct (*Mach-aerodus*); the bear (*Ursus namadicus*); the wild boar (*Sus cristata*); among the giant vegetarians—the gigantic elephant (*Elephas namadicus*), the wild horse (*Equus namadicus*) the rhinoceros (*unicornis Lim.*), the hippopotamus (*palaeindicus*), the wild buffalo (*Bubalus palaeindicus*), the primitive wild ox (*Bos namadicus*), the giraffe, the camel, and several varieties of deer.

In our area we have no signs of any caves or other habitations where Palaeolithic man could have lived

³⁴ De Terra, H., *The Pleistocene in the Narbada Valley of Central India*, in *Studies in the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures*, by H. De Terra and T. T. Paterson, Washington, 1939; p. 314.

³⁵ De Terra, op. cit., p. 318.

³⁶ Sen, D., *Prehistoric Mammal Life of the Late Cainozoic in N. W. Punjab, India*, *Calcutta Geographical Review*, 1939, p. 46.

in security, and with all his stone weapons he was but ill provided against the formidable array of wild fauna enumerated above. Great changes have taken place since the Old Stone Age in some of these animal groups,—some have grown extinct in the countless millenniums that have since passed by, and others have lost in size, and therefore, apparently in strength and ferocity. Some of these animals he would no doubt prize and welcome as adding to his vegetable fare, but against the majority of these formidable competitors, he would have desperately to fight for his very life. Foote³⁷ has pointed out that some of the pointed ovals with sharp edges all round could not have been used in the unprotected hand, and “were in all probability fitted into cloven handles and securely lashed with gut or strips of wet hide or strong vegetable fibre”, and some of them, again, might have been used as “spearheads which, when fitted to suitable shafts, would have been very formidable thrusting or stabbing weapons”, especially when wielded with great force in the strong arms of early men. Besides, early man must have also reckoned on craft, such as the digging of pits in the tracks of wild animals like peoples that are still living at the primitive stage of culture. Palaeolithic man could certainly also have easily procurable and effective weapons, such as clubs prepared out of saplings or branches of trees, and spears with pointed tips constructed out of the hard and durable wood of various trees that grew, and do still grow, abundantly in the forests of our highlands. Alexander's great admiral, Nearchus, with his Greeks,

³⁷ Foote, Robert Bruce, *The Foote Collection of Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities*, Madras, 1916; pp. 9, 10, 12.

had to fight with barbarians clothed in the skins of fish or animals, covered with very long hair, armed with wooden pikes hardened in the fire, and fighting more like monkeys than men".³⁸

All the Palaeolithic tools discovered at Kuliana as well as those found earlier in Bengal have been made of quartzite, a very suitable material for the manufacture of these artifacts, and besides, pebbles of quartzite are available in large numbers in our area. Many of these quartzite tools, though often rude, show no little skill and patience in their manufacture. Some of them are of admirable shape showing that stone-chipping was no novelty to the men who made them, and it would not be easy for modern artisans to reproduce these forms. These men must have been at work for long ages and perhaps their first attempts were made on more tractable material. Logan observes with regard to the tools in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, collected from Bengal and Southern India, "In all the implements I have examined in the Museum I do not see any traces of the 'prentice hand', in the shape of 'eoliths' or stones showing the first dawning of the idea of chipping".³⁹ Foote also notes about the South Indian tools with which our Kuliana tools have the greatest similarity, "From the shapeliness and good workmanship of many of their weapons and tools one can only infer that they were a distinctly intelligent people", and he thinks that in culture they were "more advanced than the modern Tasmanians or Australians".⁴⁰

³⁸ Ibid. p. 13, quoted from "The Gates of India", by Sir Thomas Holdich, p. 157.

³⁹ Logan, A. C., *Old Chipped Stones of India*, Calcutta, 1906, p. 66.

⁴⁰ Foote, op. cit., pp. 11, 8.

We do not know if the Mayurbhanj men had any clothing ; but the large number of scrapers that have been found might have been used in rudely dressing the skins of animals which would perhaps be their only cover against the inclemencies of weather. The use of fire they must have known, though we have no definite evidence of it ; nor have any graves been discovered yet to show how they disposed of their dead. Family life there must have been, and also corporate activity at least in hunting game. In this area of Kuliana they must have lived long, as excavations to a depth of about ten feet in the laterite have brought to view implements of a cruder and more irregular form than those in the upper layers, though they are rather small in number.

The few scattered Palaeolithic tools collected about seventy years ago by Ball in Bengal and Orissa, had already made apparent to him a striking similarity they bore to those collected by Foote and others from various stations in the Madras Presidency, and his conclusion drawn from the scanty materials then available, that a connection existed between the peoples who manufactured them,⁴¹ appears now to be fully confirmed by the large assemblage of stone tools dug out of the laterite deposits of the valley of the Burhabalanga. In fact,

the Kuliana area appears to have been an extension towards Bengal of the rich cultural zone of Southern India where abundant stores of Palaeolithic implements resembling the hoard discovered here, have been found at numerous sites, in connection with high-level

**Correlation
between Palaeo-
lithic cultures of
Bengal Highlands
and other areas**

of India

⁴¹ Ball, op. cit., *P. R. I. A.* 1879, p. 394; Brown, op. cit., p. 68.

gravels or older alluvium of rivers and lakes, and besides, in association with the high level laterite formations of the Coromandel coast.⁴² This laterite is cut by several rivers, and on some of them several terrace surfaces produced by gradual erosion could be recognized.⁴³ At several of these horizons, have been found numerous Palaeolithic implements—hand-axes, cleavers, cores and flakes—from the earliest crude and primitive hand-axes (Chellean or Abbevillian of European archaeology) to the more advanced series of neatly made tools (resembling the Acheulian of Europe in its various phases—Early, Middle, and Late). Bruce Foote distinguishes ten distinct forms in the South Indian tools,⁴⁴ and all of them are represented among about two dozen varieties into which Bose has classified the Kuliana artifacts.⁴⁵ It may be noted here, that no station in Southern India, nor any other Indian site in the north or south, has yielded such a wealth of primitive tools, as the site of Kuliana where, within an area of hardly a square mile several hundreds

⁴² Foote, op. cit., pp. 36 46. Brown, op. cit., p. 2.

⁴³ Paterson, T. T., *Stratigraphic and Typologic Sequence of the Madras Palaeolithic Industries*, in De Terra & Paterson, op. cit., pp. 328-30.

⁴⁴ Foote, op., p. 9. The designations of the specific types of Palaeolithic implements were coined from the names of stations in France where characteristic tools were found. The earliest hand-axes were called Chellean and Pre-Chellean from Chelles in northern France, but recently Abbe Breuil, the French savant who is a great authority in prehistoric archaeology, has recommended the term Chellean to be replaced by Abbevillian from Abbeville on the lower Somme. The next advanced type with some improvement in general workmanship is called Acheulian, from St. Acheul. The corresponding earliest type of flake tools is called Clactonian, and the next advanced form is the Levalloisian.

⁴⁵ Bose, N. K., op. cit., p. 78.

of authentic specimens of some of the earliest stone implements used by man, have been collected.

There is agreement also in the material out of which the tools of Kuliana and South India were manufactured. In our area all the tools are made of quartzite, and the vast majority of the palaeoliths of South India are found to have been produced of the same rock ; in fact, an examination of the distribution of the Palaeolithic stations in the Madras Presidency and the Southern Marhatta country, reveals that the Palaeolithic people of South India appeared to have preferred areas around the great quartzite yielding groups of hills, and avoided regions where this material suitable for the fashioning of their implements was comparatively rare or absent.⁴⁶

Characteristic Palaeolithic tools bearing the South Indian stamp of the A bbevillian-Acheulean complex have been discovered in very early deposits of the valley of the Narbada, in Central India, and also far away in the north, near the Foothills of the Himalayas, in deposits in the valleys of the Indus and its tributary, the Soan, near Rawalpindi. These discoveries are of the greatest import for dating the Palaeolithic deposits of Kuliana and for studying the origin of this culture complex.

No positive data geological or palaeontological, are yet available in our site about Kuliana to fix with certainty the date of formation of **Date of the Palaeolithic Culture of the Bengal Highlands**—the lateritized boulder and gravel bed out of which the numerous Palaeolithic implements have been

⁴⁶ Foote, op. cit., pp. 8-9 and 36-46.

extracted;⁴⁷ nor are we in a better position with regard to the palaeolith-bearing laterite and shingle beds of Southern India. We can only say so far that man had set foot in the region prior to the formation of the gravels and the laterite conglomerates, as implements of chipped stone were found unequivocally *in situ* embedded in the hard and undisturbed rock, and by comparison with similar lateritic formations in the Nerbada Valley, a probable date has been suggested below. Foote has propounded a theory that the beds "were formed by and during a great pluvial period, which synchronized with the great Pleistocene Ice Age which caused so vast an extension of the snow fields and glaciers on the Himalayas".⁴⁸ Foote's theory that the East Coast laterite beds were contemporaneous with the Ice Age, has acquired additional strength from the discovery of Palaeoliths of the Kuliana-Madras facies in association with deposits which have been correlated with the glacial cycles in the Himalayas.

(To be continued.)

⁴⁷ Bose, op. cit., p. 79. In a paper on "*The Age of the Boulder Conglomerate Beds at Kuliana, Mayurbhanj*", read at the Benares Session of the Indian Science Congress, 1941, Bose showed that the geological evidence in hand, is too meagre for any correlation with the Boulder Conglomerate of Upper Siwalik times. Anthropological Papers-University of Calcutta. No. 6, 1941 pp. 51-58

⁴⁸ Foote, op. cit., p. 181. Brown, op. cit., pp. 28-29. By *pluvial* is meant "a time span of the Pleistocene age during which rainfall was locally much in excess of recent times". De Terra has discovered four pluvials in Burma, similar to those in the north-western Punjab (*Ice Age*, p. 300).

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I. A NOTE ON THE WORSHIP OF THE RIVER TISTĀ BY THE NEPALESE OF THE JALPAIGURI DISTRICT IN NORTHERN BENGAL.

By

(Late) SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M. A., B. L.

I recently had occasion to stay at Jalpaiguri—the head-quarters station of the district of Jalpiguri in Northern Bangal—for three months from Wednesday the 26th November 1930 to Friday the 20th February 1931. I stayed in the picturesque Swiss-chalet-like residence of Tinkari Mitra Esqr., B. E., I. S. E., Executive Engineer, P. W. D., Alipur Duars Division of the Jalpaiguri District. It is situated on the western bank of the riverlet Karuta which meanders through the meadow in front of it.

During my three month's stay there, the following incidents and facts of anthropological interest which throw some gleams of light, on the ethnography of the peoples resident in that district, came to my notice. I am, therefore, jotting down, in this paper, a few short notes thereupon.

The Worship of the River Tista by the Hindu Nepalese.

Kānchā, a Hindu Nepalese servant of our household at Jalpaiguri, is stated to have been ill recently. He recovered from it and, by way of thanks giving, vowed to worship "the mother-goddess who presides over the river Tistā" (तिस्ता माई).

On Monday the 19th January 1931, he took leave from us to be absent from work during the whole of that day for the purpose of performing the aforementioned worship.

One enquiring from him, I learnt that the under mentioned offerings were presented to "the mother-goddess Tista".

- (1) 105 different kinds of flowers.
- (2) 64 Copper pices (which were thrown into the river).
- (3) Paddy, maize and various other Cereals.
- (4) 105 Cotton-wicks were lighted.
- (5) Camphor and incense were burnt.
- (6) Two pigeons were sacrificed, subsequently, their flesh was cooked and partaken of by Kancha and his friends.

Kancha further informed me that *mantrams* or prayer-formulae were recited in the course of this worship but that he neither remembered them nor understood the meaning thereof, so I am unable to give a detailed description of the rites performed in connection with this worship.

105 appears to be a sacred number with the Hindu Nepalese.

A sacrifice has been defined to be something devoted to a deity or goddess and consumed either in his or her honour or by him or her and by his or her worshipers. The consumption of the sacrificed pigeons by Kancha and his friends was, therefore, strictly in accordance with the requirements of a sacrifice.

Mr. Annada Charan Sen, Vakeel, Jalpaiguri, informs me that, in his younger years, he had seen that a golden tug named "the Old Dame Tistā" (तिस्ता बुड़ी) used to be performed in his household and that, in this worship, an elderly woman used to act as the priestess. But he has forgotten the detailed rites performed in connection with this worship.

It is curious that the Nepalese Hindus should take vows to worship the invisible supernatural being presiding over a river by way of thanks giving for recovery from illness.

But the Hindus in Lower Bengal take vows to worship some god who is represented by the stone *lingam* or phallus, and the goddess Kālī who is represented by an anthropomorphic image, in case of recovery from illness. For instance, Hindu Bengalis of the male sex, suffering from serious and severe ailments, take vows to grow either the hair of their heads, or their beards, or the finger-nails of their hands without cutting the same for a certain period in honour of the deity Tāraknath (an incarnation of Siva) who presides over the shrine of Tārakeshvara in the district of Hugly in Western Bengal. If they recover from their ailments, they, on the expiry of the stipulated period, visit the deity's shrine at Tārakeshvara, cut their long hair, beards and finger-nails and offer them as thank offerings together with other valuable offerings to the deity Tāraknāth.

If children suffer from some severe illness, their mothers take vows to go to the shrine of the goddess Kālī at Kālighat (south of Calcutta) and burn incense on their foreheads in the presence of the image of

the goddess, in case of the patients' recovery therefrom. Sometimes, the mothers take vows to go to the same shrine on the patient's recovery, make small incisions on their own bodies, extract a few drops of blood therefrom and present these blood-offerings to the goddess Kālī by way of thank-offerings for the recovery.

The famous Bengali antiquary and scholar—the late Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra LL. D. C. I. E., bears the following testimony to the prevalence, in modern Bengal, of the aforementioned customs, in his essay "*On Human Sacrifices in Ancient India*" :—

"The offering of one's own blood to the goddess to which reference has been made above in the extract from the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, is a medieval and modern rite. It is made by women, and there is scarcely a respectable household in all Bengal, the mistress of which has not, at one time or other, shed her blood, under the notion of satisfying the goddess by the operation. Whenever her husband or a son is dangerously ill, a vow is made that, on the recovery of the patient, the goddess would be regaled with human blood, and on the first Durgā Pūjā following or at the temple at Kālighat, or at some other sacred fane, the lady performs certain ceremonies, and then teares her breast in the presence of the goddess, and, with a nail-cutter (*naruṇa*), draws a few droops of blood from between her breasts, and offers them to the divinity. The last time I saw the ceremony was six years ago, when my late revered mother, tottering with age, made the offering for my recovery from a dangerous and long-protracted attack of pleurisy. Whatever

may be thought of it by persons brought up under a creed different from that of the Indo-Aryans, I cannot recall to memory the fact without feeling the deepest emotion for the boundless affection which prompted it".*

Sometimes, if some woman or her child is suffering from some disease of the eye or some other limb, she takes a vow to present to the goddess Kāli a gold or silver model (in miniature) of the eye or of the diseased limb in case of recovery from that ailment.

The same custom also prevails in Roman Catholic countries,--- whenever a person suffers from some diseased limb or member of the body, he or she, in case of recovery from that ailment, present to the Virgin Mary, models of the diseased limb. On this point, the well-known naturalist Mr. H. W. Bates F. R. S. who, while travelling in the regions watered by the River Amazon, came across an instance of this custom, says:—

"The most important building (in Para) was the chapel of our Lady of Nazareth, which stood opposite to our place. The saint here enshrined was a great favourite with all the orthodox Paraenses, who attributed to her the performance of miracles. The image was to be seen on the altar a handsome doll about four feet high wearing a silver crown and a garment of blue silk studded with golden stars. In and about the chapel were the offerings that had been made to her, proof of miracles which she had per-

* *Vide Indo-Aryans.* By Rajendralala Mitra, LL. D., C. I. E. In two Volumes. London: Edward Stewford. 1881. Vol. II. Pages 111—112.

formed. *There were models of legs, arms, breasts and so forth which she had cured".* *

There is a miraculous and famous grotto at a place named Lourdes in the Hantes Pyrenees in France, which contains the renowned shrine of the Virgin Mary. This shrine is one of the most celebrated pilgrimages in the world. Thousands of pilgrims visit annualy this shrine not only from other continental countries but also from Great Britain and Ireland. Roman Catholic Christians, who suffer from serious and apparently miserable maladies, take vows to the Virgin Mary that if, by her miraculous intervention, they would get cured of their diseases, they would visit her shrine and present to her their crutches and the like. In fulfilment of their vows, the pilgrims kiss the sacred stone, as they file through the grotto where the Crutches and other aids of those divinely cured are hung up as thank-offerings. (See the two plates illustrating the shrine and the offerings on page 1019 of Hutchunson's *Customs of the World*, Vol. II).

* Vide "The Naturalist on the River Amazon". By Henry Walter Bates, F. R. S., London : John Murray. 1892. Page 29.

II. CENSUS OF ASSAM TRIBALS.

A change in the basis of classification :—A strange phenomenon has happened in the Census enumeration of the Province of Assam of the current year. As announced in a recent Government communique, “the basis of classification of the people of the province has been changed this time *from religion to community*, and hence comparison with previous figures (of religion) without taking that fact into consideration will be misleading”.

The strange procedure about this has been that the Assam Census Superintendent at the instance of the Government of Assam issued a circular on 14-3-1941, about 15 days after the final census enumeration, to the districts, in violation of the rules of the Census Handbook, to the effect that “if (for instance) a Kachari has not mentioned in answer to question no. 3 that he is a Kachari, but has returned under question no. 4 as Hindu, Musalman or Christian, he will be shown as Hindu, Musalman or Christian as the case may be. But if he has returned as a Kachri against question no. 3, he will be entered as such *irrespective of his religion*”. (Italics mine) Thus the column of religion has evidently been vitiated by this queer and unauthorised instruction passed on by the Assam Census Superintendent.

Unprecedented rise in figures of Aborigines :—The result of this unscientific classification has been that according to the accepted classification of religion, the figures of people belonging to different religions as shown in 1931 and 1941 are as follow ;—

Religion	1931 Census	1941 Census.
1. Hindus	52.06 lakhs	45. 4 lakhs
2. Musalman	27. 8 ,,	34. 7 ,,
3. Tribals	9. 9 ,,	28. 2 ,,
4. Christians	2. 5 ,,	0.67 ,,
5. Buddhists	0.15 ,,	0.08 ,,
6. Others	0.06 ,,	0.15 ,,
Grand total	92.47 ,,	109.20 ,,

Thus the total rise in population during the decade is about 17 lakhs on the previous total of 92.47 lakhs, i. e. an increase of 18%. Out of this, 2 to 3 lakhs is probably due to immigration from other provinces for tea-cultivation and other reasons. Making allowance for this, the natural rise in population is about one-seventh or 14%.

In 1931 all aborigines, i. e. tribes like Khasis, Kacharis, Nagas, Miris, Mikirs, Garos, Lushais, Kukis etc. were classified by religion as either (1) Tribal (2) Hindu (3) Christian (4) Buddhist etc. But under the new classification, now adopted in 1941, they are all classed as aborigines or one community of tribals, (unless they declined to fill in column 3 for race or tribe) though there is nothing like one community but a number of (more than 20) communities, each tribe being a community by itself.

But there is yet another enigma about this Census of aborigines, which it is hoped that the Census authorities will take the trouble of explaining. In 1931 the total number of all the tribals belonging to

about 20 tribes, as well as the imported tribals among the tea-garden and ex-tea labour castes was 17.7 lakhs, as shown below :—

Tribals in 1931.

1. Of Hindu faith	4.91 lakhs.
2. „ their own faith	9.26 „,
3. „ Christian „	1.95 „,
4. „ Buddhist „	0.05 „,
5. Tribals among the tea & ex-tea labourers.	0.53 „,
	Total 16. 7 „

In 1941 the figure has swollen to 28.2 lakhs. Is it possible that 16.7 lakhs of people in 1931 could have multiplied themselves so fast in a decade into 28.2 in 1941, i. e. increased by about 69%? This seems evidently erroneous and the explanation should be sought for somewhere else than in the natural growth of population. Even the most fertile race could not have increased during a decade by 69%! The natural growth for the province as a whole has been about 18%, or allowing for immigrants, about 14%. Allowing 20% or even 25% as the percentage of increase of the most fertile community, which the tribal community is, the increase over 16.70 lakhs should have been only 4.17 lakhs; in other words, the total ought to have been at the most 20.87 lakhs, but not as much as 28.2 lakhs. Thus the big surplus of 7.33 lakhs has to be explained by the Census Superintendent.

The 1935 Constitution granted separate representation to the tribals for the first time, they forming one of the 17 communities which are awarded separate seats in the Assam Assembly and Council, according

to the famous Communal Award. The tribals have nine seats in a House of 108. They have since 1935 got certain political rights and importance, a tribal gentleman and a tribal lady M. L. A. s. are included in the Cabinet, (by the Congress Coalition Government only the former and by the present non-Congress Government both) and a wave of awakening has come over them. The Brahmans of Goalpara, Saraniyas of Kamrup and Darrang, Lalungs of Nowgong and the Miris of Sibsagar and Lakhimpur, who were for hundreds of years and upto very recently seeking to get into and being slowly absorbed amongst Hindus on one side and among the Christians for the last fifty years on the other, must have en masse swung to the 'Tribal Community'. Not only that, but an additional number of over 7 lakhs of people who were not classed as tribal in 1931 has gone over in 1941 to the so-called Tribal-Community. Thus religious faith and cultural affinity have proved to be nothing before political power, supported by an ukase of the Assam Census Superintendent. Thus during British occupation, the days of Bengali Raja Ballal Sen, who made and un-made castes in the 12th Century, are being repeated in the 20th Century and with a vengeance too! Why should the Census authorities dabble in such matters of castes and communities and that too in an autocratic and unauthorised way? There was an effort in the province of Bihar to register large number of Hindu tribals as merely tribals, without affecting the Christian tribal in any way. But the Assam Census Superintendent has gone a step further and pooled all

the tribals of Hindu and Christian religions into one cauldron of tribals, which he dares to call one Community, in an unscientific way, because he wishes them to form one Community, like Muslims or Christians.

Dated Delhi, 12th August 1941. A. V. Thakkar.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

We regret we do not see eye to eye with Mr. Thakkar in the matter. As the word "*Tribal*" in the present Census is not used to indicate religion but only community or tribe, I think, the Assam Census Superintendent would appear to have been quite correct in classifying as aborigines such aborigines as have not stated their religion. In fact it is advantageous to the aborigines to be classified as such and injurious to them to get themselves returned as Hindus. For by becoming Hindus they sink into the degraded class of "Harijans" or "Depressed classes". Moreover, by recording themselves as "aboriginals" or "*Tribals*" they stand a chance of political advancement. For in the next India Government Act, an increase in the recorded number of aborigines is expected to ensure them a larger number of seats in the Legislatures. We think that lovers of the aborigines should rejoice rather than grieve over the recorded increase of "tribals" or 'aborigines' in any Province.

INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In 'Man' for May—June 1941, there appears an article on "Dreams of Indian Aboriginal Lepers" by Mr. Verrier Elwin.

The *Folklore* for June 1941, published the Presidential Address of Dr. J. H. Hutton at its annual general meeting. Dr. Hutton has discussed that the facts which account for the belief in "wolf-children" may have also contributed to the belief in Lycanthropy with reference to Indian and other peoples of the different parts of the world.

In the *New Review* for September 1941, there appears an article on "The Hamitic Indo-Mediterranean Race" by Rev. Heras.

The same Journal in its October issue has published an article on "Mural Paintings in Trivandrum" by L. K. Balaratnam.

The *Modern Review* in its October 1941 issue has published an article on "The Musahars" a semi-aboriginal tribe of Bihar. The account contains a short and rough ethnological account of the tribe. There appears in the same number an article on "Bride Price and Dowry among Hindus of Bengal" by Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyaya.

The *Nagpur University Journal* for December 1940, contains an article on "Kingship among the Gonds" by Mr. M. P. Buradkar.

In the *Journal of the Annamalai University* September 1941, Mr. S. K. Govindasami contributes

an article on "Omens and Divination in Early Tamil Religion".

In the "*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*" Vol. XXII, 1941, Dr. B.C. Law has contributed an article on "Some Ancient Indian Tribes".

The *Bharatiā Vidyā* issued on May 1941 contains the following interesting articles, "Some Problems of Historical Linguistics in Indo-Aryan" by Mr. S. M. Katre, "Hindu Social Philosophy" by Mr. P. Valavalkar, and "Yogic Basis of Psycho-Analysis" by Mr. A. U. Vasudeva. The same Journal in its November 1941 issue has published an article on "Indus Civilization" by A. D. Pusalker.

In the Journal of the *Poona Orientalist* for April—July 1941, appears an article on "Similar Social and Legal Institutions in Ancient India and ancient Mexico" by Dr. L. Sternbach.

The *Science and Culture* for October 1941, contains among other articles, one on "Hindu Method of Tribal Absorption" by Mr. N. K. Bose. The same Journal in its November 1941 issue has published an article on "Human Culture in India during the Stone Age" by Dr. B. S. Guha.

The *Journal of the University of Bombay* for July 1941, contains the following articles—"The Prehistoric Periods in India" by Mr. S. N. Chakravarti and "Maharashtrian Folk-Songs on the Grind-Mill (Part I)" by Miss A. R. Bhagwat.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Economics and Sociology.

Economic Reconstruction of India. By Khagendra Nath Sen, M. A. The University of Calcutta, 1939. Price Rs. 7-8 as.

The author discusses in this book the great problem that confronts India, viz., her economic reconstruction. According to the author the reconstruction should proceed on an intelligent and planned basis. The greater portion of Indian population stands perpetually on the poverty line and this is mainly due to the fact that there is no proper relation between agriculture and industry and because Indian economic system has been allowed to grow up haphazardly without reference to any system or plan. This want of a plan in the Indian economic system is a great present day problem and the author has tried to survey the matter comprehensively in this book. We commend this work to all those who are interested in planning and economic reconstructions of India.

The book contains a foreword from the pen of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

H. D. Ghosh, M. A., B. L.

The Social and Economic Ideas of Benoy Sarkar. Edited by Banesvar Dass, Chuckraverty Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., 15, College Square, Calcutta 1939. Price Rupees Eight.

For long readers have been feeling the need for a complete list and account of the books and articles

written by Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar. This book goes a long way in meeting that need. Prof. Dass and his collaborators are to be congratulated on the work accomplished by them. It contains an objective summary of the ideas of Prof. Sarkar as also a descriptive statement about his literary output and the institutions founded by him. Mr. Sarkar is well-known to men of letters for his erudition and studies in diverse subjects ranging from scientific achievements to the folk-dances of primitive men. The originality of his views on cultural and social subjects treated by him has given rise to the term 'Sarkarism'. To get a concise view of the ideas of Prof. Sarkar one should first read the chapter "The seven creeds of Benoy Sarkar", in this book.

One noticeable omission in the book is the absence of any paper dealing with the Bengali writings of Prof. Sarkar.

H. D. G.

Villages and Towns as Social Patterns. By Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Messrs: Chakraverty Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., 15, College Square, Calcutta. Price Rupees Fifteen.

Prof. Sarkar is well-known for his researches in the field of Indian Economics. This book adds to his reputation. The fundamental theme of the book is "The social relations, reconstructions and remarkings that constitute progress". According to the author life is an adventure and society an experiment. The series of adventures and experiments constitutes progress and the individual is the determinant and grand

transformer in Socio-cultural dynamics'. Prof. Sarkar has drawn from his vast variegated knowledge and experience to illustrate his view point and he has also made use of a large quantity of statistical data drawn from India as well as from abroad for the same purpose. Concrete examples have been given as aids to the comprehension of the social processes and patterns discussed.

The book is divided into five parts. The appendix deals with the scope of Sociology.

H. D. G.

History.

A College text-book of Indian History. Vol. I and II. By R. Sathianathaier, M. A., L. T., Rochouse and Sons Ltd., 292 The Esplanade, Madras, 1941.

The volumes under notice are a mine of historical information and store-house of historical knowledge. They are more up-to-date and exhaustive, and abound in greater details than the existing text-books in the field. Almost every page bears striking testimony to the critical acumen, the unrivalled scholarship and the painstaking diligence of the author. He has a true historian's equipment, viz., a keen, penetrating insight and that superior interpreting, integrating, synthesising power of the mind which instead of being over-powered by a multitude of details masters them and rises above them to a vision of the whole.

We are far from the days when history could be dealt with from the merely mechanical point of view. The true condition for understanding history is to

gain a clear perception of the genuine beliefs, the wants, and passions which actually sway men's souls, instead of working simply at the complicated wheels and pulleys of the political machinery, or accepting the mass of idle verbiage which conceal our true thoughts from ourselves and from each other. In other words, as the author puts it, "it is futile to apply to our ancient annals Gibbon's one-sided definition of history, as "a register of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind". Regarding the scope of Indian history, the following observations of the author seem to clinch the issue. "A general history of India should give sufficient attention to the various sides of human activity, political, religious, economic, social and intellectual. Its dominant note, however, has to be political, though in order to understand the activity of the State in war and peace, its influence on life as a whole is to be duly appraised, as well as the variety of influences exerted upon it....The blend of the histories of politics and culture should not, however, destroy the interest of the former, or the distinctness of the picture of the latter".

Instead of making an empty rehash of second-hand theories or refurbishing third-hand materials, the author has tried to break new grounds and seek "fresh fields and pastures anew". Facts, theories and informations have been freely laid under contribution from various sources. But he has not only tried to appraise them properly, but taken his own stand on several controversial matters. Thus, he very ably disposes of the current fallacy that India fell an easy prey to the Muslim conquerors. He agrees with

Hunter that the Muslim conquest of India was "slow, difficult and partial".

The recent attempts of several historians at swinging the pendulum to the other extreme by vindicating the character and policy of Muhammad-bin-Tughluk have called forth a vehement protest from the author. By ransacking the contemporary and impartial testimony of Barani and Ibn Batuata, he has tried to redress the balance—and put things in proper perspective. He also controverts the *ex cathedra* pronouncement of Dr. V. A. Smith about the Din-Illahi of Akbar as the 'outcome of ridiculous vanity, unrestrained autocracy and a monument of his folly'. He makes the following pointed observation in vindication of Akbar's Faith:—

"The wisdom of his prophetic role may be called in question, but it is orthodoxy with a vengeance to condemn it with ball, book and candle without understanding the true spirit of Akbar's venture and noble idealism".

The above are only a few out of the many that may be mentioned by way of illustration.

The only defect that could be pointed out is that the volumes are rather over-packed with facts for the general reader. But, it is, as one reviewer has pointed out "the defect of a good quality". The printing and get-up are excellent. The chapters are adequately illustrated by maps. We most heartily congratulate the author on the production of the excellent volumes.

M. N. Banerji, M. A.

Geography.

Geography in Human Destiny, by Roderick Peattie, George W. Stewart, Publisher, New York.

In this fascinating and highly illuminating study, the author traces the influence of the geographical factor on the history of the origin and development of human civilisation, and the differentiation of the human races into distinctive cultural groups. The author is a staunch advocate of environmentalism. He has shown that environmental factors are responsible for the modern narrow racio-nationalistic concepts with their inevitable national competition which has led to the present world crisis. The solution lies in the conservation of national resources, economic justice, *i. e.*, a just distribution of world resources, international currency, propagation of pacifistic ideas, *etc.*, *i. e.*, in one word, in the development of Internationalism.

S. C. Chatterjee, D. Sc.

Miscellaneous.

How to make a little speech. By Gertrude M. Allen.

In the ordinary social round the need for speech making does not often arise. But there are occasions when we have got to get to our feet, and say something. One may have to congratulate the proud parents and the baby at a christening party; to present a prize and say a few words; to thank the important personage for gracing a function with his presence. The book is designed to help the ordinary man and woman to make such a speech when necessary.

The book contains model speeches for every occasion. There are innumerable hints on how to speak, how to stand, how to win the sympathy of the audience and how to make oneself heard.

H. D. G.

D. N. MAJUMDAR, M. A., PH. D. (CANTAB)
F. R. A. I., F. N. I.

ANTHROPOLOGY LABORATORY
LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY.

**Essays in Anthropology to be Presented to
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Dear Sir,**

I have the honour to inform you that arrangements have been completed for the publication of the volume to be presented to Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy.

A limited number of copies are being printed on account of the high prices of materials. Contributors to the volume are requested to send Rs. 12/- each and also the name and address of the Library or any friend they have already recommended the volume to.

Reprints of papers will be available and requisition of the contributors should be communicated immediately.

The price of the volume has been kept at Rs. 12/- and orders for copies should be sent early to the undersigned with the full amount in advance to avoid disappointment. A list of contributors to the volume is given overleaf.

6th October,
1941.

Yours faithfully,
D. N. Majumdar

List of Contributors.

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 Rev. W. J. Culshaw.
 Dr. D. N. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.I., F.N.I.
 and others
-

We have received from the Provincial Press Advisor, Bihar, a Series of articles on Air Raid Precautions for publication. The Second article is printed below and others will follow in subsequent issues :—

Air Raid Precautions.

Protection against High Explosive Bombs.

The most effective weapon used by modern air forces is the high explosive bomb which may weigh from $12\frac{1}{2}$ seers to 50 maunds. If stood on end a 55 seer bomb stands 2'-3" high while a 50 maund bomb will measure 13'-6". A bomb weighing 3 maunds will penetrate 40 feet into earth or sand.

The chances of a direct hit are so small and the cost of protective measures so prohibitive that protection against blast and splinters only can be considered.

When a bomb hits the ground it explodes and two things happen :—

- (1) the casing breaks up into fragments or splinters, the majority of which fly slightly upwards and sideways at a terrific speed possibly killing persons 400 yards away and even penetrating 9 inch brick walls 50 feet away
- and (2) the force, or blast, of the explosion is expanded outwards and pushes away the air causing a vacuum at the site of the explosion. This is done with such great force that the pressure of air hitting against houses, crumples them up, windows are smashed and doors are blown in. The vacuum closes in a fraction of a second by

sucking in the surrounding air. This happens with even greater force and is sufficient to pull down walls.

What can be done for protection against splinters and blast?

- (1) If your house is pucca, choose a room on the ground floor in which to take refuge. This room must be well constructed, the walls should be at least $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches brick in cement, and easily accessible and easy to get out of. It should have as few windows and then as small as possible. If you do not think the walls are thick enough to withstand splinters they should be reinforced outside by sand bags or kerosine tins filled with sand or earth up to a height of at least 5 feet above the floor level.

Windows and doors should be protected against blast by a wall of sand bags or tins of sand or earth.

The width of the wall of sand bags or tins of sand should not be less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The tins (or boxes) must be full and the earth pressed down.

- (2) If your house is not pucca, you may like to construct a shelter away from the house. The following materials and thickness will protect you against blast and splinters of bombs up to 3 maunds which explode more than 50 feet away.

Materials.

Thickness.

Mild steel plate	$1\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
Bricks in cement	$13\frac{1}{2}$ "
Reinforced concrete	12. "
Sand or earth	2'-6"

Your A. R. P. Area Control Committee will advise you.

(3) The best and cheapest method of obtaining shelter is by means of trenches. You can dig one in your compound. It should be 6 feet deep, 3'-6" wide at the bottom and 4'-6" wide at the top and as long as you like but, if it is longer than 30 feet, it must be zig-zagged or its direction changed. Roughly you should allow 2 feet for each person. The entrance to the shelter must slope steeply and, if possible, have a bend in it.

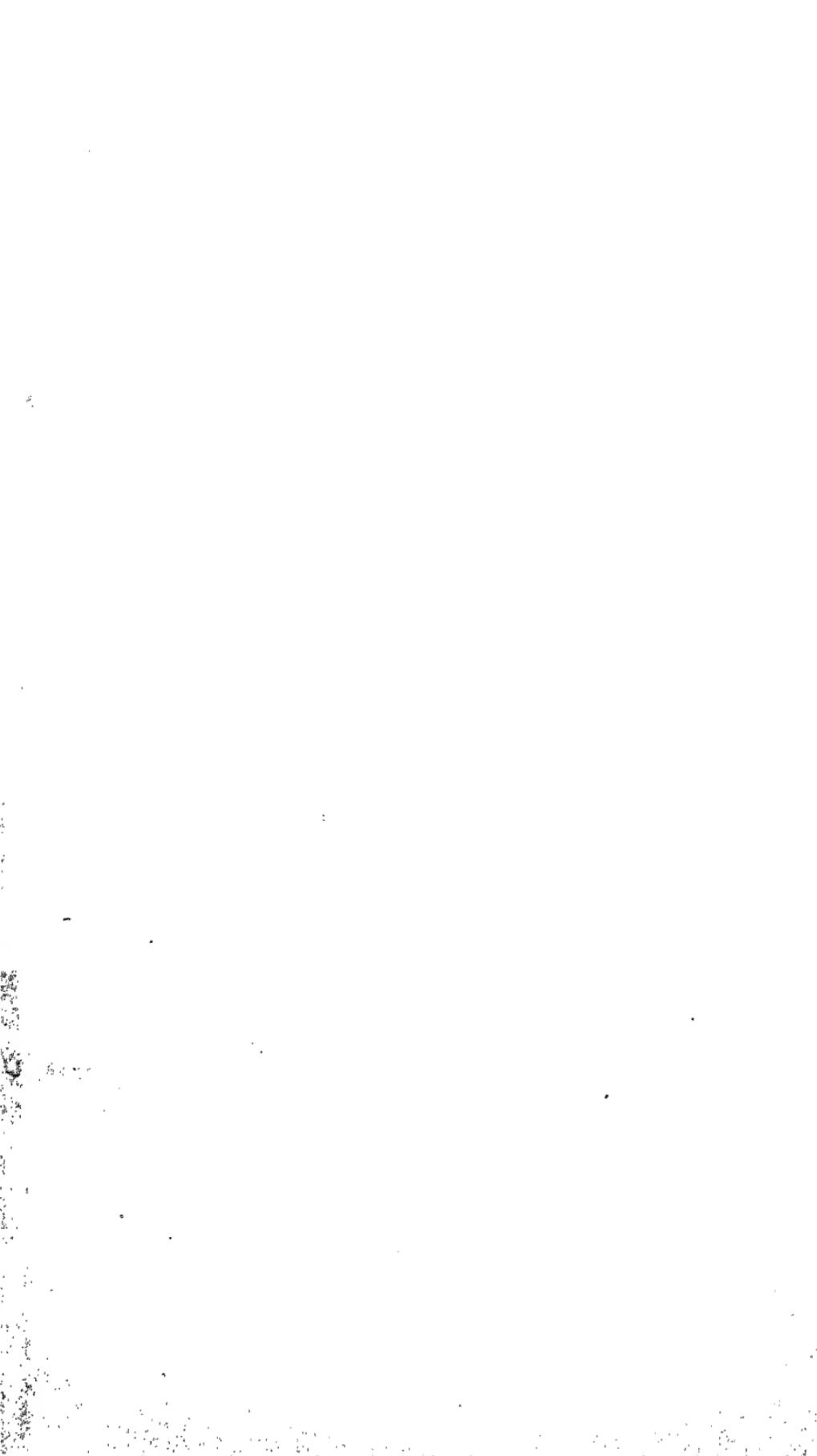
If the sides are covered with corrugated iron or brick or concrete and the top covered with $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet of earth it will give protection against everything except a direct hit.

The trench should be dug at least 25 feet away from a building. If possible, it should be dug where it can be drained naturally, if not, you will have to arrange to remove the water by pumping. A latrine should be provided.

Further information can be obtained from your A. R. P. Committee.

Remember the main danger comes *sideways* and not from above.

+





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